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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BY ADAM FERGUSON, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. V.

BASIL:

Printed and fold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

M D C C X C I.

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Arrival of Cæsar at Utica. — Wreck of the Republican Party. — Servility of the Roman People. — Magnificence and Administration of Cæsar. — His last Campaign in Spain. — Death of the elder of Pompey's Sons. — Cæsar's Return, Triumphs, Honors, and Policy in the State. — Spirit of the Times. — Source of the Conspiracy against Cæsar. — Its Progress. — Death of Cæsar.

WHEN Cæsar was informed, on his march from Thapsus, that of all the principal men of the opposite party, Cato alone remained at Utica to receive him, he was at a loss to interpret his

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conduct, and possibly might have found it difficult to determine how he should deal with an antagonist, whom he neither could reconcile to his usurpation, nor treat as a criminal. The character of generosity towards his enemies, which Cæsar had assumed, laid him under some obligation, in point of consistency, to treat the person of Cato with respect; and the opportunity he would have had, in that instance, of exercising his clemency with so much lustre, could not have escaped him. In the busiest scene of his life he had not any party-object, or any party-quarrel to maintain; he had repeatedly sacrificed personal animosity to ambition; and when he took the field against the republic, he had few private resentments to gratify: he knew that an affectation of reluctance in shedding the blood of Roman citizens, the reverse of what remained so much an object of horror in the memory of Sylla, was the likeliest means to cover the effects of this destructive war, and to reconcile the people to his government. In the bulk of his fellow-citizens he had found either rubbish to be removed from the way of his ambition, or tools with which he might work in removing it; they were the dupes of his policy, or open to the imputations of sinister designs or unreasonable obstinacy which he cast on his opponents. In Cato, perhaps, alone, he found a measure of estimation, which, with all his abilities and prosperous fortune, he could not neglect, and a penetration which, without management for his person, treated his politics as a system of villany devised for the ruin of the commonwealth. Cato

therefore alone, of all his antagonists, he possibly hated beyond the possibility of a reconciliation¹. CHAP.
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Cæsar was in reality, according to the representation of his friend Curio, neither sanguinary nor scrupulous of blood, but in the highest degree indifferent to both, and ready to do whatever was most likely to promote his designs. As he had already sufficiently provided for the reputation of clemency, he now made a freer use of his sword, and in proportion as he approached to the end of the war, or saw the means of extirpating those who were most likely to disturb his government, he dipped his hands with less scruple in the blood of his enemies. As he pursued Pompey into Egypt, under a certain impression that the death of this rival was material to the establishment of his power in Italy, so it is likely that he now hastened to Utica as a place at which he might crush the remains of the republic. On hearing of the death of Cato, however, he made use of an expression which served to discover the resolution he had taken with respect to him. "I must be allowed," he said, "to envy this man the splendor of his death, as he has refused me the honor of preserving his life." Having passed through Uzita and Adrumetum, which surrendered to him on his march, and being met by numbers who came to make their submission, he arrived at Utica in the evening, and continued all night without the gates.

Marcus Messala had already taken possession of

¹ Et cuncta terrarum subacta præter atrocem animum Catonis.

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the town. Cæsar entered on the following day; and having ordered the people to attend him, made a speech, in which he thanked the colony of Utica for their faithful attachment to his cause; but spoke of three hundred Roman citizens, who had contributed to support the war against him, in terms which sufficiently showed that he was no longer to court the reputation of mercy. Appian says, that as many of them as fell into his hands were by his order put to death. Hirtius relates, that he only confiscated their effects, and that this sentence was afterwards changed into a limited fine, amounting in all to two hundred thousand sester tia, or about a million and a half sterling, to be paid in three years, at six separate payments.

From this general wreck of the republican party in Africa, the leaders continued their flight in different directions. Many who surrendered themselves were spared; but most of those, who, in their attempts to escape, fell into the enemy's hands, either killed themselves, or by Cæsar's order were put to death^{*}. Afranius and Faustus Sylla having joined a party of cavalry that fled by Utica from the field of battle, were intercepted by Sitius, and defending themselves, with the loss of many of their party, were taken. In a few days after this event, these prisoners, under pretence of a riot in the camp, were put to death.

Scipio, with Damasippus, Torquatus, and

^{*} Dio Cass. lib. xliii. c. 12. Appian de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Florus, Eutropius, Hirtius.

Plætorius Rustianus, endeavoured to escape by sea into Spain. After being tossed some days with contrary winds, they ventured to put into Hippos, on the coast of Numidia, where they met with a squadron of Cæsar's fleet, commanded by Silius. Their vessel being boarded, they were asked with impatience, Where is the general? Scipio himself made answer, *The general is well*; and in uttering these words stabbed himself, and went headlong into the sea.

Juba, with Petreius, having escaped from the field of battle at Thapsus, lay concealed by day, and continued their flight in the night towards Zama, a place which, at the breaking out of the war, the king of Numidia had fortified, and made the residence of his women, and the repository of his treasure and most valuable effects. He knew that if he should be taken captive by a Roman general, the consequence was being led in triumph, and possibly afterwards put to death. He had therefore provided this retreat in case of an unfortunate issue to the war; intending it merely as a place at which he might die in state. With this intention he had raised, near to the royal palace, a pile of wood on which he meant to consume whatever could mark or adorn the victor's triumph; and it was his purpose, while he set these materials, and with them the whole city, on fire, to commit himself and his women to the flames.

The inhabitants of Zama had some intimation of this design, and upon the approach of the king, not choosing to celebrate by such an offering the exit of a vanquished prince, shut their gates and refused

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BOOK V. him admittance. They likewise had the humanity to refuse sending the women to him, on a supposition that he meant they should be a sacrifice to his jealousy, or be involved in his ruin.

Juba finding himself thus disobeyed, even by his own subjects, retired to one of his country-seats; and having ordered a splendid entertainment, at the close of it he and Petreius fell together by their own swords. The kingdom of Numidia was converted into a Roman province, and the government of it was committed to Sallust the historian. The son of the king, yet an infant, was reserved to make a part in the procession of the victor's triumph³. The furniture and ornaments of his palace were sold, and produced a considerable sum of money. Great contributions were raised at the same time in those parts of Africa which had been already subjected to the condition of a Roman province. The inhabitants of Thapsus were made to pay fifty thousand Roman sestertia⁴; those of Adrumetum, eighty thousand; those of Leptis and Tyfdra paid the quotas exacted from them in corn and oil.

Cæsar having in this manner, closed a scene in which he had destroyed fifty thousand of his opponents, who might be supposed to be the most obstinate adherents of the republican party, and having joined to the empire a territory which, by the report afterwards made in the assembly of the People, was fitted to yield an annual tribute of three

³ Plut. in Cæs.

⁴ About 400,000*l*.

hundred thousand medimni of grain, and three hundred thousand weight of oil⁵, he embarked at Utica, on the fifteenth of June, and in three days after he sailed from thence, arrived in the island of Sardinia; a part of his dominions, said Cicero, which he had not hitherto seen. Before his departure from Africa he had made the necessary arrangements respecting the army; and, although he had recently availed himself of the services of the legions who had mutinied in Italy, and seemed to have forgotten their offence, yet he took the benefit of the present prosperous state of his affairs to indulge his resentment; and that they might not communicate with factious spirits in Italy, have leisure to over-rate their services, or to set an example to the rest of the army of exorbitant demands, he ordered them to be broke and disbanded in Africa. The remainder of the troops who had given him the victory in that country, he ordered, after receiving the necessary refreshments, to proceed in the voyage to Spain, where he had still some resistance to apprehend from the sons of Pompey.

Leaving the army therefore to pursue this course, Cæsar himself took shipping again in the island of Sardinia on the twenty-ninth of June; and being some time detained by contrary winds, arrived at Rome on the twenty-sixth of the following month⁶; having, since the time of his departure from Italy, on the expedition to Africa, in which

⁵ Plut. in Cæs.

⁶ Hirtius de Bell. Afr. c. 86.

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B O O K he had so many difficulties to surmount, spent no
V. more than six months.

The news of Cæsar's victory had been some time received. The principal supports of the republic had fallen at Thapsus and at Pharsalia; and as the sons of Pompey, though favorably received by their late father's adherents in Spain, were not yet supposed to be in condition to resist the victor, the revolution in his favor seemed to be complete, and every part of the Roman empire subjected to his power. Nothing now remained, but that he should take possession of that sovereignty to which he aspired, and in which, it soon after appeared, that to him there was a charm, even in the court that was paid to him, as well as in the possession of power.

Whatever distress the surviving members of the commonwealth may have suffered on the loss of their relations and friends, who had fallen in the late bloody transactions of this war, or whatever mortification they may have felt on the loss of their own political consequence, as partners in the empire of the world, no symptoms of aversion, or unwilling submission, appeared on the part of the People; all orders of men hastened to pay their court to the victor, and, by their servile adulation, to anticipate the state of degradation into which they were soon to be reduced.

In the name of the Senate and People a continual thanksgiving of forty days was decreed for the late victory at Thapsus. The power of Dictator was conferred on Cæsar for ten years, and that of Censor, which gave the supreme disposal of honors

and rank in the commonwealth, and which, on account of the abuse to which it was subject, had been some time abolished, was now under a new title, that of *Præfectus Morum*, restored in his person. At the same time the nomination of some of the officers of state, formerly elected by the people, was committed to him. He was, in the exercise of these powers, to be preceded by seventy-two lictors, triple the number of those who used to attend the Dictators, and he was to enjoy, for life, many of the inferior prerogatives, which, under the republic, served to distinguish the first officers of state; such as that of giving the signals for the horses to start, or for the other sports to begin at the games of the Circus; and that of delivering his opinion before any one else in the Senate. It was likewise ordered that he should have in the Senate a gilded chair of state, placed next to that of the Consul; and, as if it were intended to join ridicule with these extraordinary honors, it was decreed, that as the conqueror of Gaul, in his triumphs he should be drawn by white horses, to put him on a foot of equality with Camillus, to whom this distinction had been given, as the restorer of his country from its destruction by the ancestors of that nation; that his name should be inserted, instead of that of Catulus, as the person who had rebuilt the Capitol, that a car, like that of Jupiter, should be placed for him in the same temple, and near to the statue of the god himself; and that his own statue, with the title of a demi-god, should be erected on a globe representing the earth.

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It is said that Cæsar refused many of the honors which were decreed to him; but in these, which he no doubt encouraged, or favorably received, he sufficiently betrayed a vanity which but rarely accompanies such a distinguished superiority of understanding and courage. Though in respect to the ability with which he rendered men subservient to his purpose; in respect to the choice of means for the attainment of his end; in respect to the plan and execution of his designs, he was far above those who were eminent in the history of mankind; yet in respect to the end which he pursued, in respect to the passions he had to gratify, he was one merely of the vulgar, and condescended to be vain of titles and honors, which he has shared with persons of the meanest capacity. Insensible to the honor of being deemed the equal in rank to Cato and Catulus, to Hortensius and Cicero, and the equal in reputation to Sylla, to Fabius, and to the Scipios, he preferred being a superior among profligate men, the leader among soldiers of fortune, and to extort by force from his fellow-citizens a deference which his wonderful abilities must have made unavoidable, even if he had possessed the magnanimity to despise it.

Cæsar, soon after the distinctions now mentioned were bestowed upon him, addressed himself to the Roman Senate and People, in a speech which, being supposed to proceed from a master, was full of condescension and lenity, but from a fellow-citizen, was fraught with insult and contumely. A speech delivered on so remarkable an occasion was likely

to be in substance preserved; and under the government of his successors, by whom he was numbered with the gods, it was not likely to get abroad but with a view to do him honor. "Let no man," he said, "imagine, that, under the favor of my exalted situation, I am now to indulge myself in acts, or even in expressions, of severity; or that I am to follow the example of Marius, of Cinna, of Sylla, or of most others, who, having subdued their enemies, dropt, in the height of their fortune, that character of moderation under which they had formerly enticed men to their party. I have appeared all along in my true character, and now, in the height of my power, have no change to make in my conduct'. The more my fortunes advance, the more I will endeavour to use them properly. My sole object, while I endeavoured to rise above my enemies, was to secure for myself a situation in which I might exercise virtue with dignity and safety; and I shall not now imitate the examples which I myself have often condemned, nor sully the splendor of my victories by an improper use of my power. As the favors of fortune are won by vigor, so they are preserved by moderation, and should be most carefully preserved by those who enjoy the greatest share of them. I covet sincere affection and genuine praise; not the adulation that springs from fear and hatred. These are my serious thoughts, confirmed on reflection;

' Dio Cass. lib. xliii. c. 15, &c.

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“ and you shall find me governed by them in all the
“ actions of my life. I do not mean to be your
“ lord or your tyrant, but your chief and your
“ leader. When the State has occasion for my au-
“ thority, you shall find in me a Dictator and a
“ Consul; but on ordinary occasions, no more
“ than a private man*.

“ I have spared many who were repeatedly in
“ arms against me. I have shut my ears to infor-
“ mations of the hidden designs of others, and have
“ destroyed all letters and papers which could lead
“ to a detection of my secret enemies. To most
“ of you I can have no resentment; and I do not
“ incline to raise prosecutions against those who
“ may think they have incurred my displeasure.
“ Live, therefore, with me from this time forward
“ in confidence, as children with their father. I
“ reserve to myself the power of punishing the guilt,
“ as far as justice requires; but will protect
“ the innocent and reward the deserving.

“ Let not these appearances of military force
“ alarm you. The troops which are quartered in
“ the city, and which attend my person, are de-
“ stined to defend, not to oppress the citizens; and
“ they will know, upon every occasion, the limits
“ of their duty.

“ Uncommon taxes have lately been levied in
“ the provinces and in Italy, but not for my pri-
“ vate use. I have in reality expended my fortune,
“ and contracted immoderate debts in the public ser-

* Dio Cass. lib. xliii. c. 15, &c.

“ vice ; and , while I myself have borne so great a
 “ part of the burden , am likewise made to bear the
 “ blame of what others have exacted. ” He con-
 cluded with assurances , that the arrears which were
 due to the troops , and the other debts of the
 public ⁹ , should be paid with the least possible
 inconvenience to the People.

In this speech was conveyed , not the indignant
 and menacing spirit of Sylla , who despised the very
 power of which he was possessed ; but the conscious
 state and reflecting condescension of a prince who
 admired and wished to recommend his greatness.
 The Roman people , in former instances of usurpa-
 tion , had experienced sanguinary and violent treat-
 ment , and they now seemed to bear with indiffer-
 ence the entire suppression of their political rights,
 when executed by hands , that refrained from pro-
 scriptions and murders. But as Cæsar seemed to
 think his present elevation the highest object of hu-
 man wishes , there were some who thought their
 present subjection the lowest state of degradation
 and misery. “ What should I do in such times ? ”
 says Cicero to his correspondent , “ books cannot al-
 “ ways amuse me. I go into any company , affect to
 “ be noisy , and laugh , to conceal my sorrow ¹⁰ .

⁹ Dio Cass. lib. xliii. c. 15 , &c.

¹⁰ Cic. ad Familiar. lib. ix. ep. 26. Miraris tam exhi-
 liratam esse servitutem nostram. Quid ergo faciam ? — ibi
 loquor quod in solum ut dicitur , et gemitum in risus maxi-
 mos transfero.

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The populace were gratified with shows, processions, and feasts, and with the gratuities that were given them in money. Cæsar had four separate triumphs in one month. The first for his conquest of Gaul, at which Vercingetorix, the prince of the Arverni, by a custom cruel and odious in all its parts, was led in chains, and afterwards put to death. The second for his victory in Egypt, at which Arsinoë, the sister of the queen, was exhibited in fetters, and by her youth and beauty excited a general compassion, which preserved her life. A third for the defeat of Pharnaces, where the trophies, as has already been mentioned, were marked with the words, *I came, I saw, I vanquished*. The last for the overthrow of the king of Numidia, in which the infant son of that prince was carried in procession. This captive having received a literary education at Rome, became afterwards, according to Plutarch, a historian of eminence¹¹.

Although triumphs were not obtained for the defeat of fellow-citizens, and nothing in these processions had a reference to Pompey, yet the effigies of many considerable senators, who had fallen in the civil war, were carried before the victor's chariot.

In these processions, Cæsar is said to have carried to the treasury, in all, sixty thousand talents in money¹²; two thousand eight hundred and twenty two chaplets or crowns of gold, weighing twenty

¹¹ Plut. in Cæs. Dio Cass.

¹² About 10,000,000 l.

thousand four hundred and fourteen pounds ¹³. He at the same time distributed to each man of the army, five thousand denarii or drachmas, about one hundred and sixty-one pounds sterling: to each Centurion, double: to the Tribune, quadruple: to the People, an Attic mina of a hundred drachmas, or about three pounds four shillings and seven pence a man ¹⁴.

The soldiers, who walked in these processions, in chanting their ballads and lampoons, took the usual petulant liberties with their leader, alluded to the disorders of his youth and to the crimes of his age; and showed that they were not deceived by the professions which he made of a zeal for the rights of the people. "If you observe the laws," they said, "you shall be punished; but if you boldly transgress them all, a crown is your reward." These appearances of freedom in the troops, perhaps, flattered the People with some image of the ancient familiarity of ranks which subsisted in times of the republic; but the licence of mere soldiers of fortune brings too often the reverse of freedom to the People; and in whatever manner those of Rome were qualified to judge of their own situation, it is likely that the pageants, which now entertained them, were part of the means which Cæsar employed to reconcile them to his usurpation, and to divert their thoughts from the prospect of a military govern-

¹³ The Roman pondo consisted of ten ounces, about 800,000 l.

¹⁴ Appian. Sueton.

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V.

ment with which they were threatened. Farther to secure these effects, he continued to multiply shows and public diversions. He himself at the close of his triumphs, walked in procession at the opening of magnificent edifices he had built, and in his return at night from this ceremony, attended by multitudes of the People, was lighted by torches borne on elephants¹⁵. At the same time he erected theatres, and exhibited dramatic performances in different parts of the city, and amply indulged the taste of the populace for entertainments of every sort. He introduced not only gladiators to fight in single combat, but parties on foot and on horseback to engage in considerable numbers on opposite sides, and to exhibit a species of battles. Among these, he showed the manner of fighting from elephants, having forty of these animals properly mounted, and the manner likewise of fighting at sea, having vessels on a piece of water which was formed for the purpose. In most of these shows, the parties who were engaged, being captives or malefactors condemned to die, gave a serious exhibition of the utmost efforts they could make in real fight.

Among the other articles of show and expense which composed the magnificence of these entertainments, are mentioned the blinds or awnings of silk, a material then of the highest price, which were spread over the public theatres to shade the spectators from the sun, and to enable them undisturbed

¹⁵ Dio Cass. Suetonius.

undisturbed from under these delicate coverings, to enjoy the sights of bloodshed and horror which were presented before them. Two human sacrifices, we are told, were at the same time offered up in the field of Mars, by priests specially named for this service. Of this shocking exhibition, the historian does not explain the occasion¹⁶. The whole was attended by a feast, to which the People were invited, and at which twenty thousand benches or couches were placed for these numerous guests¹⁷. So great was the concourse from the country to this entertainment, that multitudes lay in the streets, or lodged in booths erected for the occasion. Many were trampled under foot, and killed in the crowds. Among those who perished in this manner, two Roman Senators are mentioned.

This method of gaining the people, by flattering their disposition to dissipation and idleness, was already familiar at Rome. It had been employed under the republic in procuring favor, and in purchasing votes by those who aspired to the offices of state. It was now extended by Cæsar to effect the revolution he had in view, and to reconcile the populace of Rome, who had for some time governed the empire, to the loss of their political consequence, in being deprived of a power which they were no longer worthy to hold. It is probable, that the arms of Cæsar were not more successful in subduing those who opposed him in the field, than these popular

¹⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xliii. c. 24.

¹⁷ Plut. in Cæsar.

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BOOK V. arts were in gaining the consent of his subjects to the dominion he was about to assume.

From this time forward, Cæsar took upon himself all the functions of government, and while he suffered the forms of a Senate and popular assemblies to remain, availed himself of their name and authority without consulting with either, affixing without scruple the superscription of particular Senators to the decrees or edicts, which he sent abroad into the provinces¹⁸. “My name,” says Cicero, “is often prefixed to public deeds which are sent abroad, as having been moved or drawn up by me, and which come back from Armenia or Syria as mine, before I have ever heard of them at Rome. Do not imagine I am in jest; for I have letters from persons, whose names I never heard of before, thanking me for the honor I have done them in bestowing the title of king¹⁹.”

Equally absolute in the city as in the provinces, Cæsar placed whomever he thought proper on the rolls of the Senate; and, without regard to birth, declared some to be of Patrician rank. He recalled

¹⁸ It is well known, that the *Senatûs Consulta* bore the names of the Senators by whom they were proposed.

¹⁹ Ante audio *Senatûs consultum* in Armenian & Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me jocare putes, nam mihi scito jam, a regibus ultimis allatas esse literas, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim; quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. ix. ep. 15.

some who had been driven into exile for illegal practices, and reinstated in their ranks many whom the Censors had degraded²⁰. In all the elections, he named half the magistrates, or in a mandate, addressed to the Tribes, took upon him to direct the People whom they were to choose²¹. In the exercise of so much power, he became reserved and difficult of access, familiar only with persons whom he himself had raised, and who had talents amusing or serviceable, and without any pretensions to alarm his jealousy²². Nevertheless, if the Romans could have overlooked what was offensive in his manner, or illegal in the powers which he had thus usurped, many of his acts were in themselves, as might have been expected from so able a personage, worthy of a great prince, and tending to reform abuses, as well as to facilitate the summary proceedings of the despotical power he had assumed.

Among the first acts of Cæsar's reign, the law of Sylla, by which the children of the proscribed had been excluded from holding any office in the state, was repealed. The judiciary law, which had

²⁰ At this time, he with much difficulty was persuaded, at the intercession of the Senate, to permit the return of Caius Marcellus, who at Athens, on his way into Italy, was, upon motives which have not been explained, assassinated by one of his own attendants. This Marcellus was Consul, U. C. 703.

²¹ The words of Cæsar's mandate were, "Cæsar Dictator tribui, &c. &c. commendo vobis illum, &c. &c. ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneat. Sueton. in Cæs.

²² Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. iv. ep. 9. Ib. lib. vi. ep. 14.

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B O O K undergone so many alterations, and which, in its
V. latest form, admitted some of the inferior class of the People ²³ on the roll of the judges or jurymen, was now reformed, so as to limit the exercise of the judicature to the Senators and Knights. A scrutiny was made into the titles of those who had been in the practice to receive corn at the public granaries, and their numbers were greatly reduced ²⁴. Of the corporations which had been multiplied for factious purposes, many were abolished, and the original companies of the city alone were permitted to remain. Many punishments, for the better restraining of crimes, were increased. To the ordinary punishment of murder, was joined the confiscation of the whole estate; to that of some other crimes, the confiscation of one half. The calendar was reformed upon the principles established by the Egyptian astronomers. The reckoning by lunar months, and the use of irregular intercalations, which had been frequently made for party and political purposes, had so

²³ The Tribuni *Ærarii*.

²⁴ The leaders of faction under the republic, and no one probably more than Cæsar himself, in order to increase the numbers of their partisans, had augmented this list, and it was undoubtedly become a great abuse. Dio Cassius says, it was at this time reduced by Cæsar to one half. Suetonius specifies the numbers from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Plutarch and Appian state the reduction, so as to be understood of the numbers of the whole people, in comparing the muster taken before the civil war with the one now made.

deranged the terms, that the festivals to be observed by reapers did not happen in harvest, or those of the vintage in autumn. To restore them therefore to their proper dates in the calendar, no less than an intercalation of sixty-seven days, or above two months was required. This intercalation was made in the present year, between the months of November and December, so that the name of December was transferred from the time of the autumnal Equinox, to that where it still remains, of the winter solstice.

Under the government of Caesar, sumptuary laws were framed to restrain the expense of the table; and he himself expressed great zeal to correct the abuse which prevailed in this article. Being sensible that Italy was greatly depopulated by the distractions of the commonwealth, and by the devastations of the late civil war, he took measures to restore the numbers of the people, both by detaining the natives of Italy at home, and by inviting foreigners to settle. He gave premiums to those who had families: he ordered, that no citizen above twenty nor under ten, except belonging to the army, should remain out of Italy above three years at a time; and that the sons of Senators, except in the family or retinue of public officers, should not go abroad: that all landholders in Italy should employ no less than one third freemen on their lands; that all practitioners of liberal arts, particularly foreign physicians settling at Rome, should be admitted on the rolls of the People; and at the same time he extended the privilege of

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Romans to whole cities and provinces in different parts of the empire²⁵, by these means increasing the number of Roman citizens, or at least increasing the number of those who were to bear this title. Sensible that he himself had become dangerous to the republic, by having his power as a provincial officer improperly prolonged, he took measures to prevent a similar danger to the government, of which he himself had now acquired the possession, limiting the duration of command in the provinces, if with the title of Proprætor to one year, or with that of Proconsul to two years; a regulation, in which he showed how well he understood the nature of the ladder by which he himself had mounted to his present elevation, and how much he desired to withhold the use of it from any one else who might be disposed to tread in his steps, or to dispute his continuance in the height he had gained.

While Cæsar on a supposition that he himself was to hold the reins of government, was providing for the security of the power he had established in the capital, and on a supposition that he had no enemy left in the field, or that the remains of the adverse party in the provinces might be extinguished by his officers, was betaking himself to civil affairs and to popular arts, he had reports from Spain which convinced him, that his own presence might still be necessary to repress a party, which began to resume its vigor under the sons of Pompey. He had sent

²⁵ Dio Cass. Sueton. Appian.

Didius, with the fleet and army, from Sardinia, to secure the possession of Spain; but this service was found to be more difficult than was at first apprehended. He had himself, in appearance, reduced this province; but many humors had broke out in it, while he was afterwards so much occupied in other parts of the empire. Even the troops which had joined his standard, mutinied during the uncertain state of his fortunes in Thessaly and Egypt; and though, upon the death of Cassius Longinus, and the succession of Trebonius, their discipline was in appearance restored; yet consciousness of the heinous offence they had committed against Cæsar made them doubt of his forgiveness; and, joined with the inclination and respect which they yet entertained for the family of Pompey, determined them to take part against him. They had opened a secret correspondence with Scipio, while he was yet at the head of a powerful army in Africa, and encouraged him to send a proper officer into Spain to take the command of such forces as could be raised in the province.

Young Pompey was sent for this purpose. In his way he put into the island of Majorca, and was there sometime detained by sickness, or remained in expectation that he might prevail on the natives to espouse his cause. The troops on the continent, in the mean time, even before Pompey arrived to take the command of them, declared themselves openly against Cæsar, and erased his name from their bucklers. They obliged his lieutenant Trebonius to fly from their quarters,

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BOOK and owned T. Quintus Scapula and Q. Apronius
V. for their generals.

In this posture of affairs, young Pompey arrived in Spain, took the command of this army, and either received or forced the submission of the principal towns. He was likewise strengthened by the accession of all the Roman settlers in the province who retained any zeal for the republic, and by the remains of former armies who had been levied by his father, especially such of that army which had served under Afranius on the Segra, as were left in Spain; and by many officers of rank, who, having escaped from Thessaly or Africa upon the late calamities of their party, had taken refuge in this country. Among these, Labienus and Varus, with as many as could be saved from the massacre at Thapsus, were assembling anew under the standard of Pompey. The two brothers, Cneus and Sextus, were joined together, and supported by the name of their father, which was still in high veneration; they had assembled thirteen legions. Among these, were two legions of native Spaniards, who had deserted from Trebonius; one that was raised from the Roman colonists; and a fourth, which had arrived from Africa, with the elder of the two brothers²⁶.

Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius or Didius²⁷, the officers of Cæsar, being unable to make head against this force, remained on the defensive, and

²⁶ Hirtius de Bell. Hisp.

²⁷ Dio Cass. *ibid.* c. 31.

by the reports which they made to their commander, represented the necessity of his own presence in the province.

C H A P.

I.

The continuance of the Dictatorial power in Cæsar's person, had superseded the usual succession in the offices of state. Lepidus still remained in his station of general of horse; and, with a council of six or nine Præfects being left to command at Rome, Cæsar set out in the autumn for Spain. He ordered troops from Italy to reinforce those already employed in this service, and in twenty seven days after his departure from Rome, arrived at Saguntum ²⁸.

Upon the news of Cæsar's approach, Cneus Pompeius had assembled all his force on the Bætis, posted his brother Sextus with a proper garrison at Corduba, and himself endeavoured to reduce Ulia, a town which still held out against him in that neighbourhood. Cæsar's first object, upon his arrival in Spain, was to preserve this place from falling into the enemy's hands. For this purpose, he detached eleven cohorts under the command of L. Julius Paciaæcus, with orders, if possible, to throw themselves into the town. The night, in which they marched for this purpose, being stormy and dark, they passed the first posts of the besiegers unnoticed. When near the gates, they were challenged; but the officer who led the van, having answered in a low voice, that they were a detachment ordered to

²⁸ App. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. or as Strabo writes, at Obulio, lib. iii. p. 160.

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the foot of the wall in search of some entry, by which, under the cover of the night, they might surprise the garrison, they were suffered to pass; and presenting themselves at one of the gates, upon a signal that had been agreed upon, they were admitted into the town.

While Cæsar thus reinforced the garrison of Ulia, he himself, to make a diversion in their favor, marched up to Corduba, cut off a party that had been sent from thence to observe his motions, and threatened the town with a siege. Sextus, who was in the place, being alarmed, sent pressing representations to his brother, who accordingly abandoned his lines before Ulia, and marched to his relief. Both armies encamped on the Guadalquivir²⁹. The parties that were sent forward by them to scour the country, or to cover their quarters, were engaged in daily skirmishes. But the two brothers being in possession of the principal stations, and in condition to protract the war, continued to act on the defensive. Cæsar, on his part, made some movements in order to disconcert them, and to find, if possible, an opportunity of coming to action; but the country being hilly, and the towns generally built upon heights, every where furnished strong posts for the enemy, and prevented his making any progress. The winter at the same time approached, and exposed his army to considerable hardships from the severity of the season, and from the scarcity of provisions. Under these disadvantages, he under-

C. J. Cæsar,
 Dict. 3tio.
 M. E. Lepidus,
 M. E. C.
 U. C. 708.

²⁹ The Bœtis.

took the siege of Allegua, and on the twentieth of February, after an obstinate resistance, obliged that town to surrender ^{3°}.

Our accounts of these operations, which are ascribed to Hirtius, and which, with his other performances, are annexed to Cæsar's Commentaries, being less perfect than other parts of the collection, all we can distinctly learn from them is, that after a variety of different movements, which gave rise to frequent skirmishes, the armies in the month of March came to encamp in the plain of Munda, about five miles from each other; that Cæsar was about to leave his station, when in the morning of his intended departure, he had intelligence, that the enemy had been under arms from the middle of the preceding night, and were meditating some attempt on his camp. This intelligence was followed by the sudden appearance of their army on some elevated grounds near the town of Munda; but as they showed no disposition to come into the plain, Cæsar, after some hesitation, advanced to attack them.

In the army of Pompey, together with the flower of a warlike people, the natives of Spain, were assembled many veterans of the Roman legions, inured to blood; many Roman citizens of rank, now pushed to despair, or warned, by the fate of their party at Thapsus, not to expect safety from the mercy of a victorious enemy, and not to have any hopes, but in their swords. Under these impressions,

^{3°} Hirtius de Bell. Hisp.

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they waited for Cæsar's approach with a proper countenance, and on the first onset repulsed and put to flight the troops by whom they were attacked. In this extremity, Cæsar ran into the ranks of his own men; said, *they were delivering him over to boys*; laid hold of a sword and a shield, and calling out that *this then should be the last day of his life, and of their services*, took a place in the ranks as a mere legionary foldier. In this manner he renewed the action, and being reduced to the necessity of animating his men with the example of his own personal valor, committed his fortune and his life to the decision of a contest, in which his ability as an officer could no longer have any share; but while the event was still in suspense, Bogud, an African, commanding a body of horse in his service, having made an attempt to pierce into Pompey's camp, drew Labienus from his post in the field to cover it. This accident turned the fortune of the day. The troops, who till then valiantly sustained Cæsar's attack, believing that Labienus deserted them, instantly fled in disorder. The slaughter from thence forward turned as usual entirely against those who fled. Thirty thousand fell upon the field, and among them three thousand Roman citizens of high condition, with Labienus and Attius Varus at their head. Seventeen officers of rank were taken, with thirteen Roman eagles or legionary standards.

Cæsar acknowledged, that having on other occasions fought for victory, he had now been obliged to fight for his life. He had a thousand men killed, and five hundred wounded, before the enemy

gave way. Part of the vanquished army retired into the town of Munda, part into the camp, and in their respective posts prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. Cæsar, on the approach of night, took possession of all the avenues by which either might escape; and it is said, that the troops he employed in this service, instead of traverses of earth or stone to obstruct the highways, raised up mounds of the dead bodies.

Early in the morning of the following day, Cæsar having left the town of Munda in this manner blocked up or invested, set out for Corduba, which Sextus, the younger of the two brothers, upon the news of the battle, had already abandoned.

Cneus, on seeing the rout of his own army, fled with a small party of horse on the road to Carteia³¹. Here he had collected most of his shipping and naval stores; but the news of his defeat having arrived before him, the people were divided in their inclinations. Part had already sent a deputation with an offer of their services to Cæsar; part still adhered to the family of Pompey, and from these opposite dispositions had proceeded to actual violence and bloodshed in the streets. Pompey himself was wounded in one of their scuffles, and expecting no safety in a place, in which so many of the inhabitants had declared against him, he took ship, and put to sea with thirty gallies. He was pursued by Didius, who commanded Cæsar's squadron at Gades; and being obliged in a few

³¹ Now Gibraltar.

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days to stop for a supply of water, of which he had been ill provided at his sudden departure from Car-teia, he was overtaken, most of his ships destroyed, and he himself obliged to seek for safety on shore. Soon after he landed, he dismissed his attendants, or was deserted by them; and falling into the hands of the enemy, though greatly weakened by his wounds and loss of blood, he continued to defend himself, until he was overpowered and slain. His head, according to the barbarous custom of the times, was sent to the conqueror, and exposed at Hispalis.

In the preceding transactions of the war, every circumstance contributed to the fall of the republic, and to the success of Cæsar. In the very outset of the contest, half the nobility, ruined by prodigality and extravagance, had been desirous of anarchy and confusion. Citizens high in civil rank and with fortunes entire, were generally glad to forego their political consequence in exchange for ease and safety. Even the arms which should have protected the commonwealth, were in the hands of mere soldiers of fortune, who were inclined to favor that side from which they looked for the establishment of military government; they fought to procure great power and estates for themselves, not to preserve laws which gave property and the security of wealth to others. Many of the Senators indeed perceived the impending ruin, and were prevailed upon to make some efforts for the preservation of the state, but on most occasions too hastily despaired of their cause. It was not thought

honorable or safe for a citizen to survive his freedom. Upon this principle, the friends of the republic, while they escaped from the enemy, perished by their own hands.

Soon after the action at Munda, Scapula, one of the officers lately at the head of the republican party in Spain, turned the practice of suicide into a kind of farce. Having retired to Corduba from the field of battle, he ordered a magnificent pile of wood to be raised and covered with carpets; and having given an elegant entertainment, and distributed his money among his attendants and servants, he mounted to the top of this fabric, and while one servant pierced the master with his sword, another set fire to the pile. Thus the victories of Cæsar were completed by his enemies; and while he gained a fresh step at every encounter, they who opposed him went headlong, and abandoned their country to its ruin.

The province of Spain, under a proper conduct of its force and resources, if it had not been able to stop at once the career of Cæsar's victories, was surely sufficient to have given him more trouble than any other part of the empire. Its natives brave, and addicted to war, were inferior to the Romans only in policy and discipline. They had been averse to the party of Cæsar, and would not, even in its highest prosperity, prefer it to the cause they had originally espoused. Being mixed with the remains of Roman armies which had been broken and dispersed in the field, they still maintained every place of defence against the conqueror;

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and, within the walls of cities to which they retired, defended themselves to the last extremity.

Cæsar, having been employed part of the spring and the following summer in subduing this scattered enemy, prepared to leave the province. He assembled the principal inhabitants at Hispalis; and having upbraided them with their animosity to himself and to the Roman People, he put them in mind of his early connexion with their country, as Quæstor and as Prætor, and of his repeated good offices in the capacity of Senator and magistrate; having made a proper establishment for the government of the province, he set out for Italy³², and arrived at Rome in October³³. Although it was contrary to the practice of former ages to admit of triumphs where the vanquished were fellow-citizens, he took a triumph for his late victory at Munda; and the more to amuse the People who, whatever be the occasion, are captivated with such exhibitions, he appointed separate triumphs, on the same account, to Q. Fabius Maximus, and to Didius, who had acted under him in that service.

These triumphs, over the supposed last defenders

³² Antony had set out from Rome to meet Cæsar; but to the great surprise and alarm of every body, returned unexpectedly to Rome. Cicero ad Att. xii. 18.

It was known afterwards, that Antony returned under the surprise of an order given by Cæsar to oblige him to pay for houses, &c. bought at Pompey's sale. Cicer. Phil. ii. 29. Ibid. xxxi. 29.

³³ Velleius Paterculus.

of

of the public liberty, and over the perishing remains of the family of Pompey, so long respected at Rome, instead of the festivity which they were intended to inspire, were attended with many signs of dejection. But none took upon him to censure, or was qualified to stem, the torrent of servility by which all orders of men were carried. The same succession of games and entertainments were ordered as in the former year. The Senate and People indeed had no longer any concessions to be added to those already made to the conqueror, and it was difficult to refine on the language of adulation, which they had so amply employed in former decrees; but something to distinguish the present situation of affairs, to show the ardor of some to pay their court, and to disguise the discontent and the sorrow of others, was thought necessary on the present occasion. A thanksgiving was appointed, and ordered to continue for fifty days. The anniversary of the twentieth of April, the day on which the news of the victory at Munda was received at Rome, was ordered to be for ever celebrated with games of the circus¹⁴. Even they who felt a secret indignation at the elevation of a single person to act as lord of the commonwealth, concurred, in appearance, with these resolutions in honor of Cæsar¹⁵. They thought that the full cup was most likely to nauseate, and that extreme provocation was most likely to rouse, the spirits of free men, if any yet remained.

¹⁴ Dio Cassius.

¹⁵ Plutarch, in Cæs.

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In the concessions which were made to Cæsar, whether suggested by his friends or by his enemies, there was no attempt to preserve any appearance of the republic, or to veil the present usurpation. The Senate, in presenting their several decrees, waited upon him in a body as subjects to acknowledge their sovereign; were received by him on his chair of state, and in all the form of a royal ceremony, stretching forth his hand to each as they approached. While he carried the external show of his elevation to this height, Pontius Aquila, one of the Tribunes, being seated in the exercise of his office, had suffered him, in one of his processions, to pass, without rising from his place. This he greatly resented. "Must I," he said to those who attended him, "resign the government to this Tribune?" And for some days, in granting requests or petitions, he affected to guard his answers ironically, by saying, "Provided that Pontius Aquila will permit³⁶." The Consulate was offered to him for ten years, but he declined it, as he destined this and the other offices of State for the gratification of his friends. He himself had assumed the title of Consul in his late triumph, and immediately after resigned it to Q. Fabius Maximus.

Such, from henceforward, was to be the manner of conferring honors under the monarchy of Rome. Families had become noble in consequence of being admitted into the Senate, or in consequence of having borne any of the higher offices of

³⁶ Sueton. in Cæs. c. 78.

State, such as that of Consul or Prætor. Instead of titles, they recited the names of ancestors who had been in these offices, and instead of ensigns armorial, erected the effigies or images of such ancestors. Cæsar, that he might have more frequent opportunities to gratify his retainers, paid no regard to the customary establishment of the Senate, and increased its numbers at pleasure, by inserting in his rolls persons of every description, to the amount of nine hundred. He augmented the number of Prætors to fourteen, and that of Quæstors to forty; and even, without requiring that his friends should pass through these offices, rewarded them at pleasure with the titular honors of Consular, Prætorian, Patrician, &c.³⁷; and extended his munificence likewise to the provinces, by admitting aliens separately, or in collective bodies, to the privilege or appellation of Roman citizens.

In the midst of appearances, which seemed to throw a ridicule on the ancient forms of the republic, as well as to substitute a military government in their stead, Cæsar named himself, together with Marc Antony, as Consuls for the following year. This compliment paid to the civil establishment, by condescending to bear the name of legal office, though very illegally assumed, flattered the citizens with hopes that he meant to govern under some form of a republic³⁸. Nothing, however, followed

³⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xliii. c. 47.

³⁸ Appian.

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BOOK from these appearances; the state which he affected, his dress, his laurel wreath, the color and height of his buskins, the very seal which he chose to make use of, being the impression of a Venus armed, in ostentation of his supposed celestial extraction; the numerous guards and retinue, exceeding two thousand men, with which he was constantly attended³⁹; the satisfaction with which he seemed to receive the forced fervility of those whom his sword had subdued, betrayed a mind which, though possessed of real superiority, had not sufficient elevation to disdain the false appearances of it.

On the last day of the year, Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been a few months Consul, died before he had vacated the office; and about noon of the same day, Cæsar, who had assembled the Tribes, ordered them to take the form of the Centuries, and to elect Caninius Consul for the remainder of the day. Plutarch says, That Cicero exhorted the People to be speedy in paying their court to this new Consul: “for this magistrate may be out of office before we can reach him.” Cicero himself, referring to this farcical election, writes in a letter to one of his friends, “We have had a Consulate, during which no one either ate or drank, and yet nothing extraordinary happened; for so great was the vigilance of this officer, that he never slept all the time he was in

³⁹ Cicer. ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 52.

“ office. You may laugh at these things,” he says; “ but if you were here, you would cry.”

On the following day, Cæsar, with all the powers and ensigns of Dictator, took possession of the Consulate in conjunction with Antony. He intended, after having held this office for a few days in his own person, to resign it in favor of Dolabella, though a young man, still far short of the legal age. The execution of this intention, however, was some time delayed at the request of Marc Antony, who being jealous of Dolabella, endeavoured to obstruct his preferment.

CHAP. I.

U. C. 709.
C. J. Cæsar,
Dict. 4to.
M. E. Lepidus, M. E.
C. Octavius,
Mag. Eq.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus
in sequen-
tem annum
designatus
non iniit.

Cæsar himself passed the winter in assiduous application to civil affairs, and in forming projects to embellish the capital, and to aggrandize the empire. He made some regulations for the better government of the city. Under this title may be reckoned his prohibiting the use of litters, of purple, and of pearls, except to persons of a certain rank, and to them only at great festivals, and on remarkable occasions; together with his reviving the ancient sumptuary laws respecting the expense of the table. For the better execution of these laws, he appointed inspectors of the markets, with orders to seize all illicit articles of provision; and if any thing of this sort were known to escape the

“ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. vii. ep. 30. Ita Caninio Consule scito, nemine prandisse. Nihil tamen eo Consule mali factum est. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia qui toto suo Consulatu somnum non viderit. Hæc tibi ridicula videntur: non enim adis. Quæ si videris lachrymas non teneres.

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inspectors, he sent officers to seize them from the tables on which they were served. To check the luxury of the times in other articles, he imposed duties on the importation of foreign commodities.

Under the ordinary pretence, that the laws were become too voluminous, he ordered them to be digested into a code, with a view to simplify and to reduce them into a narrower compass; in this measure attempting a reformation which mankind, in certain situations, generally wish for, but which no man can accomplish without the possession of absolute power.

In the same spirit of despotical government, with which Cæsar abridged the laws, he acted at once as legislator and as a judge. As instances of his severity in the latter capacity, it is mentioned, that he annulled a marriage, because it had been contracted no more than two days after the woman had parted from a former husband; and to this he joined his punishing Senators for extortion in the provinces, by expulsion from the Senate.

His mind, at the same time, entertained projects of great variety and extent. To drain the great marshes which rendered the air so unhealthy, and so much land unserviceable in the neighbourhood of Rome; to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to erect moles, and form harbours on the coast of Italy, to make highways across the Apennines; to build a new theatre that should exceed that of Pompey; to erect public libraries, and make a navigable canal from the Anio and the Tiber to the sea at Terracina; to build a magnificent temple to

Mars. These projects are justly mentioned as meritorious in the sovereign of a great empire; and it must be confessed, that power would be but a wretched possession, if there were not something of this sort to be done after the toils of ambition were over.

The measure which of all others contributed most to the honor of Cæsar, did we suppose him entitled to the powers he assumed, was the general indemnity which he granted to all who had opposed him. Some he even employed in the administration of government, and promoted in the State. He placed Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, for this year, on the list of Prætors, and intrusted them with the higher jurisdiction of the city. To the widows of many who died in opposition to himself, he restored their portions, and gave their children part of their patrimony ⁴¹. He replaced the statues of Sylla and of Pompey, which the populace, in flattery to himself, had thrown down; "and by this means," says Cicero, "he firmly established his own."

It appeared, on many occasions, that Cæsar meant to contrast his own conduct with that of Sylla ⁴²; his own clemency with the bloody executions performed by the other. The comparison, no doubt,

⁴¹ Sueton. Dio. lib. xliii.

⁴² Quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non poterunt neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam quem imitaturus non sum. Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Cicer. ad Att. lib. ix. ep. 7.

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is curious, and must occur to every person who reads their story. Sylla had been excited, by extreme provocations, to turn his arms against a party in possession of the capital, and he drew his sword to punish injuries done no less to the republic than to himself. While he was master of the State, he acted indeed like a person who did not care how odious he rendered despotical power, for he did not mean to retain it. But he mixed, with the resentment of a personal enemy, the high views of a noble citizen, who proposed to reform the State by clearing it of many corrupted and dangerous members. When he had accomplished this purpose, he disdained the pageantry of high station, was above receiving the adulation which proceeds from servility, or wishing to enjoy a continual precedence in the management of affairs, which requires no extraordinary capacity. Embarked by fortune on a tempestuous sea, when he had conducted the vessel safe into port, he quitted the helm; and after having been master, was not afraid to place himself among his countrymen as a fellow-citizen; and in this state of equality his greatness of mind secured to him a distinction, which no degree of precedence, and no measure of prerogative, could have bestowed.

To this character that of Cæsar, in many particulars, may be fairly considered as a contrast. He himself had stirred up the disorders which produced the civil war in which he engaged. He had no injuries either public or private to resent; his affected clemency, in sparing a few captives, in the beginning or in the course of his operations, was

belied by the wantonness with which he entered on a war, in which the blood of many thousands of his fellow-citizens was to be unnecessarily shed⁴³. If he had been reluctant in the shedding of blood, his mercy would have appeared, in avoiding so destructive a contest, not in ostentatiously sparing a few of the many whose lives his wanton ambition brought into hazard. His clemency should have appeared at the Rubicon, not at Corfinium; in leaving his country to enjoy its liberties, not merely in sparing those whom no man in his senses would destroy, a people who were willing to submit, and whom he desired to govern.

Cæsar used to ridicule the resignation of Sylla as an act of imbecility⁴⁴, and was himself fond of precedence as well as of power. The degree of vanity, which he is said to have indulged, in accepting the frivolous honors which were now conferred upon him by acts of the Senate, is indeed scarcely credible. Among these is mentioned a decree that he should have precedence of all magistrates, and the privilege of being always dressed in the triumphal robes; of having a gilded chair of state, and a place of distinction at all the public games; that he should be allowed to deposit a suit of armor in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, an honor appropriated to those who, like Romulus, had killed, with their own hands, a leader of the enemy,

⁴³ It is said that 400,000 Romans perished in this contest.

⁴⁴ Syllam nescisse literas qui dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton, in Jul. Cæs. c. lxxvii.

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that his lictors should have their fasces always bound with laurel; that himself, in coming from the Latin festivals, should enter the city on horseback; that he should have the title of Father of his Country, and be so designed on the coins; that the anniversary of his birth-day should be kept as a festival; that statues should be erected to him in all the towns of Italy, and in the temples of the city; that the statues, without any consideration of his titles to these honors, should be adorned with the civic and obsidionary crowns; the first a badge worn by those who had saved a fellow-citizen in battle, the second by those who had delivered the city itself from a siege⁴⁵.

The Senate and People observing, that these distinctions were agreeable to Cæsar, subjoined, that his robe should be cut in imitation of that of the ancient kings of Rome, that he should have an escort of Knights and Senators; that it should be permitted to swear by his destiny; that all his decrees, without exception, should be ratified; that, at the end of five years, a festival should be held in honor of him, as of a person of divine extraction; that an additional college of Priests should be established to perform the rites which were instituted for that occasion; that, in all gladiatorial sports, whether at Rome or in the provincial towns, one day should be dedicated to him; that a crown of gold, set with gems, like those of the Gods, should be carried before him into the Circus,

⁴⁵ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 4.

attended with a thenus or car like that on which the idols of the Gods were carried; that he should have the title of Julian Jove, have a temple erected for himself, in conjunction with the Goddess of Clemency; and, to complete the ridicule of these institutions, that Marc Antony should be appointed the priest of this sacred fane ⁴⁶.

From these particulars, which, to characterize the ambition of the person to whom they refer, and the manners of the age, are selected from those mentioned by the original historian ⁴⁷, it was no longer to be doubted, that Cæsar wished to establish a monarchy on the ruins of the republic. He himself was extremely arrogant in his behaviour, and so unguarded in his expressions, as to say, That the republic was but a name, that his words should be carefully observed, for that he meant every word should have the force of a law.

To so much arrogance and affectation of kingly state, joined to absolute power, nothing was wanting but the title of King. This Cæsar himself evidently appeared to have had the vanity to desire. His retainers and flatterers, on different occasions, endeavoured to surprise the People into a concession of it; but notwithstanding the powers of Sovereign, which he exercised without control, and the honors of Divinity, which were decreed to him by general consent, his influence was not sufficient to reconcile the Roman People to the name

⁴⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xliv. c. 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

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of King. One of his emissaries, willing to suggest the propriety of bestowing this title, or to insinuate Cæsar's purpose of assuming it, had bound the head of one of his statues with a royal fillet. The Tribunes Marullus and Cæsetius, affecting great zeal for the honor of Cæsar, as well as for the majesty of the Roman State, made inquiry after the author of an insinuation so derogatory to both; and receiving information of the guilty person, in order to check such insinuation for the future, sent him to prison. This officious interposition of the Tribunes, though pretending to vindicate Cæsar himself from so odious an imputation, he received with marks of displeasure; and hearing these officers extolled as the restorers of the public liberty with the appellation of the *Bruti*, "Brutes indeed," he said they were, but took no farther notice of the matter.

Soon after this incident, some one, or a few in the assembly of the People, saluted him with the title of King. But on hearing, instead of acclamations, a general murmur of dislike, he silenced this unseasonable piece of flattery, saying. That his name was *Cæsar*, and not *King*. Here too the Tribunes again interposed, and raised prosecutions against the authors of such treasonable expressions. But in this instance Cæsar lost his patience, and complained in the Senate, that factious men, under the pretence of discharging the public office of magistracy, propagated insinuations injurious to his character, and tending to alarm the People with

false apprehensions. Such offences, he said, merit capital punishment; but he should be satisfied with degradation from their office. This sentence was accordingly inflicted; and from thenceforward it was not doubted, that Cæsar aspired to the title, as well as the power of a monarch.

This opinion was still farther confirmed, when, on the sixteenth of February⁴⁸, at the *Lupercalia* (a festival, which being continued down from barbarous ages, served as a monument of primeval simplicity and rudeness), the same piece of flattery, in making tender of a crown, was renewed by Antony, then in the office of Consul, and the chief confident of Cæsar.

It was the custom in this festival of the *Lupercalia*, for the first officers of State, and the first of the Nobles, to present themselves naked in the streets, carrying thongs of undressed hide, with which they ran through the crowd, and struck at those who happened to be placed within their reach. The stroke was thought a remedy, in particular, for barrenness in women; and numbers of this sex crowded in the way to receive it.

In the ceremony now to be performed, Marc Antony bore his part as Consul; and Cæsar sat on his gilded chair of state in his triumphal robes to behold the spectacle. Antony stopped before him, and presented him with a royal crown, saying, "This crown the Roman People confer upon Cæsar by my hands". A few of the spectators seemed

⁴⁸ Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 34.

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to applaud ; but Cæsar ; perceiving that the People in general , by their silence , gave signs of displeasure , pushed away the crown with his hand ; and upon this action , received from the People , by an universal shout of applause , an unquestionable explanation of their former silence.

To try the effect of a moderation which was so much applauded , Antony threw himself upon the ground at Cæsar's feet , repeated his offer of the crown , and hoped that the People might join him in pressing the acceptance of what was so modestly refused ; but with no better success than in the former attempt.

That the merit of this refusal , however , might not be forgotten , or that the offer might be held equal to the actual investiture of the crown , an entry was made in the Fasti or public records , by the directions of Antony , “ That the Consul having ,
“ by the order of the Roman People , presented a
“ crown , and offered to confer the majesty of King
“ on Caius Julius Cæsar , perpetual Dictator , he had
“ declined to receive it ”.

The Roman republic had , for some time , subsisted in a very disorderly state ; the People having dominion over many other nations , scarcely admitted any species of government among themselves. The inhabitants of Rome , assuming the prerogatives of the collective body of Roman citizens , who now not only extended over all Italy , but were dispersed throughout the empire , generally assembled in

“ Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 34.

tumults, whose proceedings nothing but force could regulate, and at every convulsion gave an immediate prospect of military government. All who wished to preserve the republic, endeavoured to extend the prerogatives of the Senate, and to prevent, as much as possible, these ill-formed assemblies of the People from deliberating on matters of State; and it might, no doubt, have been still better for the empire, if the spirit of legal monarchy could at once have been infused into every part of the commonwealth; or if, without further pangs or convulsions, the authority of a prince, tempered with that of a Senate, had been firmly established. But men do not at once change their habits and opinions, nor yield their own pretensions upon speculative notions of what is suited to the state of their country. Cæsar aspired to dominion in order to gratify his personal vanity, not to correct the political errors of the times; and his contemporaries, born to the rights of citizens, still contended for personal independence and equality, however impossible it might be longer to preserve any species of republic at the head of such an empire.

Ever since the expulsion of Tarquin, the name of King had been odious at Rome. The most popular citizens, as soon as they became suspected of aspiring to kingly power, became objects of aversion, and were marked out as a prey to the detestation of their country. Thus fell Manlius Capitolinus, the Gracchi, Apuleius, and others who were loaded with this imputation.

The Romans, accustomed to see vanquished

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kings the sport of popular insolence, led in triumph, put to death; or, if suffered to live, made to languish in poverty and neglect — accustomed to see kings, who were their own allies, submitting their cause to the judgment of the Roman People, or suing for favor, considered monarchy itself as an appurtenance of servility and barbarism; and the project to give a king to the Romans as an attempt to degrade them into barbarians and slaves.

The maxim, which forbids assassination in every case whatever, is the result of prudent reflection, and has a tendency to allay the jealousy, and to mitigate the cruelty of persons, who, by violent usurpations, which laws cannot restrain, have incurred the resentment of mankind. Even tyrants, it is supposed, are cruel from fear, and become merciful in proportion as they believe themselves secure; it were unwise, therefore, to entertain maxims which keep the powerful in a continual state of distrust and alarm. This prudential morality, however, was entirely unknown in the ancient republics, or could not be observed, without surrendering the freedom for which the citizens contended. Amongst them the People were obliged to consider, not what was safe, but what was necessary; and could not always defend themselves against usurpations, neither by legal forms, nor by open war. It was thought allowable, therefore, to employ artifice, surprise, and secret conspiracy against an usurper; and this was so much the case at Rome, that no names were held in greater veneration, than those of citizens who had assassinated persons suspected

suspected of views dangerous to the commonwealth ; or who , by any means whatever , rendered abortive the projects of adventurers who attempted to arm any party against the legal constitution of their country. C H A P. 1.

Cæsar , having attempted to join the title of King with the powers of perpetual Dictator , had reason to distrust a People who were actuated by such conceptions. He was an object of private as well as of public resentment , having usurped the government over those whom he had cruelly injured ; over the fathers , the brothers , and sons of those who had fallen by his sword. He accordingly , for some time , had the precaution to keep a military guard attending his person ; but , grown familiar with those he had offended , and secure in his personal courage , he dropt this precaution , and began to reign with the confidence of a lawful monarch. Although he had incurred so much resentment , he disdained to stand in awe of it , and ventured to join the confidence of innocence with the highest measures of guilt. This conduct indeed was uncommon , and the effect of a daring courage , but unworthy of the penetration and skill with which he had hitherto conducted his affairs. It may serve to confirm , what has been already observed , that , amongst the many accomplishments which he possessed , and together with the abilities which rendered him superior to every direct opposition , he was actuated by a vanity which bordered on weakness. Missed , perhaps , by this passion , he persisted in his emulation to the glory of Sylla , and would show to

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B O O K the world, that he who had not resigned his power
V. could walk the streets of Rome, unattended, with as much safety as the other, who had had the magnanimity to restore the condition of his country; joined to this weakness, he had too mean an opinion of those who composed the commonwealth, greatly sunk indeed in their political characters, but not fallen into that state of personal weakness, which his security and contempt of them seemed to imply.

Above sixty citizens of noble extraction were found who thought their late condition as members of the republic could still be recovered. Some had been stunned with their fall, but not quite overwhelmed; others, who, on specious pretences, had assisted in obtaining the victories of Cæsar, detested the monarchy which he was pleased to assume. In the first period of the civil war many imagined, that the contest was to end in substituting one party for another, not in the entire subversion of the republican government; and they were inclined, as soon as fortune should declare in favor of either party, to be reconciled with those that prevailed⁵⁰. But when it evidently appeared, that Cæsar, by suppressing the last remains of opposition to himself in every part of the empire, meant to establish a monarchy in his own person, a secret indignation filled the breasts of those who, upon a foot of family-consequence, or personal ability, had any pretensions to political importance.

⁵⁰ Cicero ad Familiar.

To such persons the dominion of an equal appeared insufferable. Many of them affected fervility, in conferring the extravagant honors which had been decreed to Cæsar, as the mask of a sullen displeasure, which, conscious of a tendency to betray itself, took the disguise of the opposite extreme.

The question respecting the expedience of monarchical government, did not enter into the deliberations of any one. If it had been urged, that a King was necessary; it would have been asked, Who gave the right to Cæsar? If the People in general were corrupt, were the bankrupts, and outlaws, and soldiers of fortune that formed the court of Cæsar unblemished? If the great, the able, and experienced citizens, who were qualified to support the republic, were now no more, by whose sword had they perished? or who was to blame for the ruin that had befallen the commonwealth? If the corrupt arts, the treasons, the murders, encouraged or executed by Cæsar, had made a change of government necessary, the first act of that new government, for the instruction of mankind, ought to have been to punish the author of so many disorders and crimes, not to reward him with a crown.

Many of Cæsar's officers, and the nearest to his person, were as much in this mind as any other citizens; and on this supposition, so familiar was the thought of proceeding to the last extremities against him, that, when Antony came to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain, Trebonius ventured to sound his inclinations respecting a design on Cæsar's life^s.

^s Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 14.

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Although Antony did not adopt the measure, he did not betray Trebonius, nor did he appear to be surprised at the proposal. It was afterwards suggested, that Antony should be invited to a share in the conspiracy; and the proposal was dropt only on account of the refusal which he had already given to Trebonius; so readily was it believed, that every noble Roman would rather share in the government of his country, as an independent citizen, than as a retainer to the most successful usurper.

It is well known, that a conspiracy accordingly was, at this time, formed against the life of Cæsar, although the first steps and the consultations of the parties are no where minutely recorded. The principal authors of it were Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, then Prætors in the city; Decimus Brutus and Trebonius, who had both served in high rank under Cæsar himself, and of whom the first was destined by him to the command in Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulate in the following year.

Caius Cassius was early noted for a high and impetuous spirit. It is observed, that, being a boy when Sylla was at the height of his power, he struck the son of the Dictator for having said, That his father was the master of the Roman People. The tutor of young Sylla having carried a complaint to Pompey, the boys were called, and questioned on the subject of the quarrel, "Do but repeat your words again," said Cassius; "and in this presence I will strike you." He had distinguished himself in Syria by collecting the remains of the unfortunate army of Crassus, with which he

repelled the attempt of the Parthians on that province. He followed Pompey in the civil war, and commanded a squadron of the fleet on the coast of Sicily at the time of the battle of Pharsalia. From thence he went into Asia, with a professed intention to wait for the arrival of the victor from Alexandria, and to drop all further opposition against him; but even then, according to Cicero would have put Cæsar to death, if he had not debarked on a different side of the Cydnus, from that on which he was at first expected to land⁵².

Marcus Brutus was the nephew of Cato by his sister Servilia; and so much the favorite of Cæsar, who was said to have had an intrigue with his mother, that he was by some supposed to be his son. The father of Brutus, in the civil wars of Sylla, had been on the side of Marius, and having fallen into Pompey's hands, was by him put to death. The son retained so much resentment on this account, that he never accosted or saluted Pompey till after the civil war broke out; when, thinking it necessary to sacrifice all private considerations to the public cause, he joined him in Macedonia, and was received with great marks of distinction. This young man either on account of his uncle Cato, or on account of the expectation generally entertained of himself, was held in the highest estimation. Being taken prisoner at the battle of Pharsalia, he was not only protected by the victor, but sent into the province of Cisalpine Gaul with the title of

C H A P.

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⁵² Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 11.

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Governor; where during the war in Africa against Scipio and the king of Numidia, he remained, perhaps, rather under safe custody than in high confidence with Cæsar. He was this year, together with Caius Cassius, who married his sister, promoted to the dignity of Prætor, and though of less standing than Cassius, had the precedence by the partiality of Cæsar. This circumstance was supposed, at the time that Brutus and Cassius were actually framing their conspiracy, to have occasioned a breach between them.

Cassius is reputed to have been the prime mover in the design against Cæsar's life; and to have been the author of anonymous calls to vindicate the freedom of Rome, which were posted up or dropt in public places; and which, from the prevailing spirit of discontent, found a ready acceptance. Labels were hung upon the statues of the ancient Brutus, and billets were dropt, in the night, upon the judgment-seat of the Prætor of this name, exciting him to imitate his ancestor, by restoring the republic; "You sleep, you are not Brutus:" and on the statues of his supposed ancestor, the elder Brutus, was written, "Would you were alive!" These expressions of a secret disaffection, and prognostics of some violent design, either escaped the attention of Cæsar, or were despised by him; but were easily understood by persons who looked for a deliverance from the indignities to which they felt themselves exposed. While Cassius and Marcus Brutus entered into a formal concert on this subject, numbers pined under the want of that consideration

to which they thought themselves born; many were provoked by particular instances of vanity or arrogance in the present Dictator³³; and upon the least hint of a design against him, were ready to join. "I am sorry you should be ill at so critical a time," said Brutus to Ligarius. "I am not ill," said the other, "if you have any intentions worthy of yourself³⁴."

Great numbers daily acceded to the plot, of whom the following, besides Brutus and Cassius, are the principal names upon record: Cæcilius and Bucolianus, two brothers, Rubrius Rex, Q. Ligarius, M. Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Nafø, Pontius Aquila. These had ever been on the side of the Senate, or adherents of Pompey. The

³³ Cæsar had, about this time, a visit from the Queen of Ægypt, who lived with him at his gardens on the Tiber (Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv.). Many who overlooked his usurpation, and the violence he did to the constitution of his country, were scandalized at the intimacy in which he lived with this woman. Being accustomed to the distinctions of a court, and considering Cæsar as the Monarch, she treated the citizens, who were still admitted to him on a foot of equality, as dependents and subjects. He himself, with all his state, was polite. As an apology for having made Cicero wait too long in his antichamber, he accosted him with saying, "How can I hope to be tolerated, when even Marcus Tullius Cicero is made to wait; If any one could forgive it, he would; but the world must detest me." Cleopatra, it is probable, made no such apology when she gave cause to complain of her arrogance.

³⁴ Sueton. in Cæsare.

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following had acted in the war under Cæsar; Decimus Brutus, C. Casca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minucius, and Basilus⁵⁵; they are said in all to have amounted to sixty⁵⁶. Cicero was known to detest the usurpation of Cæsar; to mourn over the fall of the commonwealth, over the humiliation of the Senate, and the diminution of his own political consequence; but he was not consulted in this design. The authors of it relied on his support, in case they should be successful; but they knew too well his ingenuity in suggesting scruples and difficulties, to bring him into their previous deliberations on so arduous an enterprise.

The conspirators, in forming their project, generally sounded the minds of persons before they made any formal or direct proposal. Brutus being in company with Statilius, Favonius, and Labio, proposed, among other problematical questions, some doubts concerning the expediency of assassinating tyrants. Favonius observed, that such actions led to civil war, and that this was worse than usurpation. Statilius said, that no wise man would engage in so hazardous an enterprise to serve a parcel of knaves and fools. Labio contended warmly with both; and Brutus changing the subject, thought no more of Statilius or Favonius, but communicated the design to Labio, who immediately embraced it.

As so many were concerned, and as they remained

⁵⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

⁵⁶ Sueton. in Cæfare.

some time in suspense as to the proper time and place for the execution of their purpose, it is singular that the conspiracy should have come to such a height undiscovered. But Cæsar did not encourage informers; his great courage preserved him from the jealousies by which others in less dangerous situations are guided. He trusted to his popularity, to his munificence, to the professions of submission which were made to him, and to the interest which he supposed many to have in the preservation of his life. He had not only dismissed the guards, which at his return to Rome had attended him; and was commonly preceded only by his Lic-tors and the usual retinue of his civil rank; but had suffered the veterans to disperse on the lands which had been assigned to them, unfurnished Italy of troops, and had transported the greater part of the army into Macedonia, reserving only a small body under Lepidus in the suburbs of Rome. His own mind, though fond of appearances of superiority, it is probable, was easily fatiated with the pageantry of state. His thoughts became vacant and languid in the possession of a station to which he had struggled through so much blood; and his active mind still urged him to extensive projects of war and conquest⁵⁷. He accordingly planned a series of wars which were not likely to end but with his life. He was to begin with revenging the death of Crassus, and reducing the Parthians. He was next to pass by Hyrcania and the coasts of the Caspian Sea into

⁵⁷ Dio Cass. Appian. Plutarch.

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As Cæsar was likely, whatever may have been the extent of his projects, to be employed some time in the execution of them, he thought proper to anticipate the election of magistrates at Rome, and to arrange, before his departure, the whole succession to office for some years. Dio Cassius says, that his arrangement was made for three years; Appian, for five years. It is certain, that he fixed the succession to office for two subsequent years. Hirtius and Pansa were destined to the Consulate in the first; Decimus Brutus and Plancus, in the second⁶⁰. He continued to increase the number of magistrates, that he might have more opportunities to gratify his retainers and friends. The Quæstors, as has been mentioned, he augmented, to forty, the Ædiles to six, the Prætors to sixteen. Among the latter he named Ventidius, a native of Picenum, who had been taken and led in triumph, while the people of that district, with the other Italians, on account of their claim of being enrolled as citizens, were at war with Rome. Ventidius had subsisted by letting mules and carriages. In the

⁵⁸ Plutarch, in Cæfare.

⁵⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

⁶⁰ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 6.

purſuit of this buſineſs he had followed the army of Cæſar into Gaul; and becoming known to that general, was gradually truſted and advanced by him. His career of preferment continued up to the dignity of Conſul, and he himſelf, as has been formerly obſerved, came at laſt to lead, in the capacity of a victorious general, a proceſſion of the ſame kind with that in which he had made his firſt entry at Rome as a captive.

This arrangement, in which Cæſar, by anticipating the nomination of magiſtrates, precluded the citizens from the uſual exerciſe of their rights of election; made the ſubverſion of the republic more felt than any of the former acts of his power, and gave the leaders of the conſpiracy a great advantage againſt him. The proſpect of his approaching departure from Rome, which was fixed for the month of March, urged the ſpeedy execution of their purpoſe. The report of a reſponſe or prediction, which ſome of the flatterers of Cæſar had procured from the college of Augurs, bearing that the Parthians were not to be ſubdued but by a king⁶¹, appeared to be the prelude of a motion to veſt him, in his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, with the title, and with the enſigns of royalty, to be borne, if not in the city, at leaſt in the provinces⁶².

A meeting of the Senate being already ſummoned, for the Ides, or fifteenth, of March, the propoſal to beſtow on Cæſar the title of King, as a

⁶¹ Dio Caſſ. lib. xliv. c. 15.

⁶² Zonaras, lib. x. c. 14.

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V. the Parthians, was expected to be the principal business of the assembly. This circumstance determined the conspirators in the choice of a place for the execution of their design. They had formerly deliberated, whether to pitch upon the Campus Martius, and to strike their blow in the presence of the Roman People assembled, or in the entry to the theatre, or in a street through which Cæsar often passed in the way to his own house⁶³. But this meeting of the Senate seemed now to present the most convenient place, and the most favorable opportunity. The presence of the Senate, it was supposed, would render the action of the conspirators sufficiently awful and solemn; the common cause would be instantly acknowledged by all the members of that body; and the execution done would be justified under their authority. If any were disposed to resist, they were not likely to be armed; and the affair might be ended by the death of Cæsar alone, or without any effusion of blood beyond that which was originally intended.

It was at first proposed that Antony, being likely to carry on the same military usurpations which Cæsar had begun, should be taken off at the same time; but this was over-ruled. It was supposed that Antony, and every other Senator and citizen, would readily embrace the state of independence and personal consideration which was to be offered to them; or if they should not embrace it, they would

⁶³ Sueton. in Cæfare.

not be of sufficient numbers or credit to distress the republic, or to upset that balance of parties in which the freedom of the whole consisted. It was supposed that the moment Cæsar fell, there would not be any one left to covet or to support an usurpation which had been so unfortunate in his person. "If we do any thing more than is necessary to set the Romans at liberty," said Marcus Brutus, "we shall be thought to act from private resentment, and to intend restoring the party of Pompey, not the republic."

The intended assembly of the Senate was to be held in one of the recesses of Pompey's theatre. It was determined by the conspirators, that they should repair to this meeting as usual, either separately, or in the retinue of the Consuls and Prætors; and that, being armed with concealed weapons, they should proceed to the execution of their purpose as soon as Cæsar had taken his seat. To guard against any disturbance or tumult that might arise to frustrate their intentions, Decimus Brutus, who was master of a troop of gladiators, undertook to have this troop, under pretence of exhibiting some combats on that day to the people, posted in the theatre, and ready at his command for any service.

During the interval of suspense which preceded the meeting of the Senate, although in public Brutus seemed to perform all the duties of his station with an unaltered countenance, at home he was

⁶⁴ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 15.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

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E O O K less guarded, and frequently appeared to have some-
V. thing uncommon on his mind. His wife Porcia suspected that some arduous design respecting the State was in agitation; and when she questioned him, was confirmed in this apprehension, by his eluding her inquiries. Thinking herself, by her extraction and by her alliance, entitled to confidence, she bore this appearance of distrust with regret; and, under the idea that the secret which was withheld from her, must be such as, upon any suspicion, might occasion the torture to be employed to force a confession; and supposing that she herself was distrusted more on account of the weakness than of the indiscretion of her sex, she determined to make a trial of her own strength, before she desired that the secret should be communicated to her. For this purpose she gave herself a wound in the thigh, and while it festered, and produced acute pain and fever, she endeavoured to preserve her usual countenance, without any sign of suffering or distress. Being satisfied with this trial of her own strength, she told her husband the particulars, and with some degree of triumph added, "*Now you may trust me; I am the wife of Brutus and the daughter of Cato; keep me no longer in doubt or suspense upon any subject in which I too must be so deeply concerned.*" The circumstance of her wound, the pretensions which she otherwise had to confidence, drew the secret from her husband, and undoubtedly from thenceforward, by the passions which were likely to agitate the mind of a tender and affectionate woman, exposed the design to additional hazard of a discovery and of a failure.

But the morning of the Ides of March, the day on which this conspiracy was to be executed, arrived, and there was yet no suspicion. The conspirators had been already together at the house of one of the Prætors. Cassius was to present his son that morning to the people, with the ceremony usual in assuming the habit of manhood; and he was upon this account to be attended by his friends into the place of assembly. He was afterwards, together with Brutus, in their capacity of magistrates, employed as usual, in giving judgment on the causes that were brought before them. As they sat in the Prætor's chair they received intimation that Cæsar, having been indisposed over-night, was not to be abroad; and that he had commissioned Antony, in his name, to adjourn the Senate to another day. Upon this report, they suspected a discovery; and while they were deliberating what should be done, Popilius Lenas, a Senator whom they had not intrusted with their design, whispered them as he passed, "I pray that God may prosper what you have in view. Above all things, dispatch." Their suspicions of a discovery being thus still further confirmed, the intention soon after appeared to be public. An acquaintance told Casca, "You have concealed this business from me, but Brutus told me of it." They were struck with surprise; but Brutus presently recollected that he had mentioned to this person no more than Casca's intention of standing for Ædile, and that the words which he spoke probably referred only to that business; they

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BOOK accordingly determined to wait the issue of these
V. alarms⁶⁶.

In the mean time Cæsar, at the persuasion of Decimus Brutus, though once determined to remain at home, had changed his mind, and was already in the streets, being carried to the Senate in his litter. Soon after he had left his own house, a slave came thither in haste, desired protection, and said he had a secret of the greatest moment to impart. He had probably overheard the conspirators, or had observed that they were armed; but not being aware how pressing the time was, he suffered himself to be detained till Cæsar's return. Others, probably, had observed circumstances which led to a discovery of the plot, and Cæsar had a billet to this effect given to him as he passed in the streets; he was entreated by the person who gave it instantly to read it; and he endeavoured to do so, but was prevented by the multitudes who crowded around him with numberless applications; and he still carried this paper in his hand when he entered the Senate.

Brutus and most of the conspirators had taken their places a little while before the arrival of Cæsar, and continued to be alarmed by many circumstances which tended to shake their resolution. Porcia, in the same moments, being in great agitation, exposed herself to public notice. She listened with anxiety to every noise in the streets; she dispatched, without any pretence of business, continual messages towards the place where the Senate was assembled;

⁶⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

she asked every person who came from that quarter if they observed what her husband was doing. Her spirit at last sunk under the effect of such violent emotions; she fainted away, and was carried for dead into her apartment. A message came to Brutus in the Senate with this account. He was much affected, but kept his place⁶⁷. Popilius Lænas, who a little before seemed, from the expression he had dropped, to have got notice of their design, appeared to be in earnest conversation with Cæsar, as he lighted from his carriage. This left the conspirators no longer in doubt that they were discovered; and they made signs to each other, that it would be better to die by their own hands than to fall into the power of their enemy. But they saw of a sudden the countenance of Lænas change into a smile, and perceived that his conversation with Cæsar could not relate to such a business as theirs.

Cæsar's chair of state had been placed near to the pedestal of Pompey's statue. Numbers of the conspirators had seated themselves around it. Trebonius, under pretence of business, had taken Antony aside at the entrance of the theatre. Cimber, who, with others of the conspirators, met Cæsar in the Portico, presented him with a petition in favor of his brother, who had been excepted from the late indemnity; and, in urging the prayer of this petition, attended the Dictator to his place. Having there received a denial from

⁶⁷ Plut. in Brut.

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B O O K Cæsar, uttered with some expressions of impatience
v. at being so much importuned, he took hold of his robe, as if to press the entreaty. *Nay*, said Cæsar, *this is violence*. While he spoke these words, Cimber flung back the gown from his shoulders; and this being the signal agreed upon, called out to strike. Casca aimed the first blow. Cæsar started from his place, and in the first moment of surprise, pushed Cimber with one arm, and laid hold of Casca with the other. But he soon perceived that resistance was vain; and while the swords of the conspirators clashed with each other, in their way to his body, he wrapped himself up in his gown, and fell without any farther struggle. It was observed, in the superstition of the times, that, in falling, the blood which sprung from his wounds sprinkled the pedestal of Pompey's statue. And thus having employed the greatest abilities to subdue his fellow-citizens, with whom it would have been a much greater honor to have been able to live on terms of equality, he fell, in the height of his security, a sacrifice to their just indignation; a striking example of what the arrogant have to fear in trifling with the feelings of a free people, and at the same time a lesson of jealousy and of cruelty to tyrants, or an admonition not to spare, in the exercise of their power, those whom they may have insulted by usurping it.

When the body lay breathless on the ground, Cassius called out, that there lay the worst of men⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Cic. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. i. Nequissimum occisum esse.

Brutus called upon the Senate to judge of the transaction which had passed before them, and was proceeding to state the motives of those who were concerned in it, when the members, who had for a moment stood in silent amazement, rose on a sudden, and began to separate in great consternation. All those who had come to the Senate in the train of Cæsar, his Lictors, the ordinary officers of State, citizens and foreigners, with many servants and dependants of every sort, had been instantly seized with a panic; and as if the swords of the conspirators were drawn against themselves, had already rushed into the streets, and carried terror and confusion wherever they went. The Senators themselves now followed. No man had presence of mind to give any account of what had happened, but repeated the cry that was usual on great alarms for all persons to withdraw, and to shut up their habitations and shops. This cry was communicated from one to another in the streets. The People, imagining that a general massacre was somewhere begun, shut up and barred all their doors as in the dead of night, and every one prepared to defend his own habitation.

Antony upon the first alarm had changed his dress, and retired to a place of safety. He believed that the conspirators must have intended to take his life, together with that of Cæsar; and he fled in the apprehension of being instantly pursued. Lepidus repaired to the suburbs, where the legion he commanded was quartered; and uncertain

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B O O K whether Cæsar's death was the act of the whole
v. Senate, or of a private party, waited for an explanation, or an order from the surviving consul, to determine in what manner he should act". In these circumstances a general pause, and an interval of suspense and silence, took place over the whole city.

" Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

C H A P. II.

General Consternation on the Death of Cæsar. — Tumultuary Assembly of the People. — Declarations of Cinna and Dolabella. — Appearance of Brutus and Cassius in the Forum. — Their Return to the Capitol. — Meeting and Debate in the Senate. — Act of Oblivion. — Speech of Brutus to the People. — Funeral of Cæsar. — Insurrection of the People. — Policy of Antony. — Appearance of Octavius. — His Difference with Antony. — Both have Recourse to Arms. — Aspect of Things. — Antony proceeds to expel Decimus Brutus from the Cisalpine Gaul.

IN the general consternation, occasioned by the death of Cæsar, the authors of this important event appeared to be no less at a loss what to do, than the other members of the Senate, on whom it was brought by surprise. The danger of executing the first part of their design had appeared so great, that they looked no farther, or they imagined that with Cæsar's life every difficulty would be ended; and that the Senate and People, restored to their authority and privileges, would naturally recur to their usual forms. Finding themselves deserted in the Senate, and not knowing to what dangers they might still be exposed, they wrapped up the left arm in their gowns; a preparation which the Romans, in the habit of using a shield, generally

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made when alarmed with any prospect of violence.

The Conspirators thus in a body, with their swords yet stained with blood, went forth to the streets proclaiming security and liberty, and inviting every one to concur with them in restoring the commonwealth. They were joined by many who, though not accessory to the conspiracy, chose to embark with them in the present state of their fortunes. Of these are particularly mentioned, Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Aquinas, Dolabella, Murcus, Peticus, and Cinna. But observing that the People in general did not show any hearty approbation of their cause; and knowing that, besides the legion which Lepidus commanded in the suburbs, there were in the city multitudes of veterans, who, having received grants of land from Cæsar, either had not yet gone to take possession of them, or having been at their settlements, had returned to pay court to their patron before his departure from Rome; and suspecting that Antony, now the sole Consul and supreme officer of State, was likely to exert the powers of a magistrate against them; and being on every side beset with dangers of which they knew not the extent, they determined to take refuge in the Capitol, and with the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, who had already taken possession of that fortress, to wait the issue of this general scene of suspense.

Multitudes of the people, observing that the persons who had occasioned this general alarm were

themselves on the defensive, and no way inclined to extend the effusion of blood, ventured forth into the streets, and many crowded together in the Forum or ordinary place of resort¹. The first person that took any public part upon this occasion was Cinna, the son of him who had been a leader of the Marian party, brother-in-law of Cæsar, and now, by his nomination, advanced to the dignity of Prætor. This relation of the deceased, to the surprise of every one, tore the Prætor's gown from his own shoulders; declared that in this act he then abdicated his office, as having been unwarrantably obtained by the nomination of an usurper; and he proceeded to make a harangue to the People, in which he represented Cæsar as a tyrant, extolled the conspirators as the restorers of liberty to their country, and proposed that they should have the proper safeguards to their persons, and be invited to assist in the assembly of the People.

Dolabella, who had been nominated by Cæsar to succeed in the office of Consul, which he himself was about to vacate, thinking that the intended succession was now open to him upon Cæsar's death, reversed the first part of Cinna's conduct, by

¹ Appian says, that the friends of the conspirators, by distributing money, endeavoured to form a party among the populace. The necessity of this expedient, if real, is sufficient to show how desperate the attempt was of restoring democratical government to the inhabitants of Rome, composed of the refuse of Italy, and of the provinces collected to enjoy the rewards of idleness and faction.

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assuming the robes and ensigns of Consul, to which he had no title; but joined with the abdicated Prætor in applauding the authors of Cæsar's death, expressed his wish that he himself had been a partner in the glory of their action, joined with Cinna, in proposing that these restorers of liberty should be invited to the assembly of the People, and that the anniversary of the present day should be observed for ever, as a festival sacred to the restoration of the commonwealth.

The partisans of Cæsar, yet unacquainted with the extent of their own danger, had absented themselves, and the assembly consisted chiefly of persons to whom these proposals were agreeable. The motions that were now made by the late Prætor and the supposed Consul accordingly prevailed, and the leaders of the conspiracy were invited to descend from the Capitol. But of this invitation only Marcus Brutus and Cassius took the benefit. Having joined the assembly, they severally addressed themselves to the multitude with an air of dignity and consciousness of merit, as being the procurers of that liberty which the people were now to enjoy, and by which they were enabled to judge for themselves. They contrasted the late usurpation of Cæsar² with the free constitution of the republic; observed, that with respect to themselves, unsupported as they were with any military force, they could

² Appian, de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Dio Cass. lib. xliv. c. 21.

have no intention to supplant the usurper in the possession of his power, and could have no object besides the restoration of the laws and the freedom of their country. And they exhorted the audience, in terms rather popular, than really applicable to the present state of affairs, to make the same use of their deliverance from an usurped and violent domination which their ancestors, at the expulsion of Tarquin, had made of a similar event. They specified the merit which many persons had in this enterprise, particularly that of Decimus Brutus, who had furnished the company of gladiators, which, in entering on this business, made the principal part of their strength; and observed, that, notwithstanding the splendid fortune to which Decimus Brutus might have aspired under Cæsar's influence, he had preferred the rights of his fellow-citizens, and the restoration of the commonwealth. They turned the attention of the audience on the case of Sextus Pompeius, the only surviving son of the great Pompey, now unjustly deemed an outlaw and a rebel³. "In the person of this young man," they said, "you have the last of a noble family, who, in the contest for freedom, have sacrificed themselves for the republic, even he is still beset by the emissaries of the late usurper, who, pretending public authority, are armed for his

³ This young man having absconded for some time after the defeat and death of his brother at Munda, had again appeared in Spain at the head of a considerable force, and defeated Asinius Pollio, who had been employed by Cæsar against him.

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“destruction with swords, yet red with the blood of his father and of his brother.” They moved the People, that so unjust a war should be instantly suspended, and that this young man should be restored to the rights of his ancestors; that the Tribunes Cæsetius and Marullus, being unjustly degraded by Cæsar, in violation of that sacred law, which he himself, upon much less grounds, had made his pretence for a civil war, should now be restored to all their dignities.

In these fond anticipations of freedom, the authors of this attempt to restore the republic, enjoyed for once the fruits of their labor, and spoke to a numerous assembly of the Roman People, seemingly unrestrained and unawed by military force. The city, however, had not yet recovered from the consternation with which the People was seized: the present assembly was not sufficiently attended by persons, on whom the conspirators could rely for their safety. It was thought most prudent, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius should return to their friends in the Capitol, and that from this place they should treat of an accommodation with Antony, and with the other leaders of the opposite party.

On the following day, Antony, seeing that the restorers of the commonwealth remained in the capitol, and abstained from violence against any of the supposed friends or adherents of Cæsar, ventured abroad from his lurking place, and resumed the dress and ensigns of Consul. In this capacity he received a message from the conspirators, desiring

a conference with himself and with Lepidus. Antony, though, in times of relaxation and security, extravagant, dissipated, and in appearance incapable of serious affairs^{*}; yet in arduous situations he generally belied these appearances, was strenuous, cautious, and able. He did not yet perceive how far the party of Cæsar was or was not extinguished with its leader. The only military force in Italy was at the disposal of Lepidus, of whom he was jealous. In his answer therefore he assumed an appearance of moderation and regard for the commonwealth, and referred every question to the Senate, which he had already summoned to assemble.

In expectation of this meeting of the Senate, all parties were busy in consultations, and in soliciting support to their interest. The friends of the conspirators were in motion all night visiting the Senators, and preparing measures for the following day. The veterans of Cæsar, both officers and legionary soldiers, apprehending that the grants of land lately made to themselves might be recalled, went to and fro in the streets, and made application wherever they had access, with representations and threats. They even provided themselves with arms, and prepared to overawe the Senate by their numbers.

^{*} If I am not mistaken, says Cicero, upon this occasion, he minds eating and drinking even more than mischief. (Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 3. quem quidem ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.)

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In the course of the same night, Lepidus had marched into the city with the legion he commanded, and took possession of the Forum. To the People who assembled around him he lamented the death of Cæsar, and inveighed against the authors of this unexpected event. By this declaration, he encouraged the partisans and retainers of the late Dictator to come abroad, and rendered the streets and passages exceedingly dangerous for those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna, who, to evince his zeal for the reviving republic, had resigned the office of Prætor conferred upon him by Cæsar, was attacked on his way to the Senate, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Antony, in that busy night, had, by his credit with Calpurnia the widow of Cæsar, got possession of all his memorials and of all his writings, and had secured an immense sum of money, which had been deposited by him in the temple of Ops¹.

On the following day, being the eighteenth of March, the Senate assembled, as soon as it was light, in the temple of the Earth. The veterans beset the doors². Dolabella presented himself, ushered in by the Lictors, and took possession of one of the Consuls chairs. Antony being seated in the other, moved the Assembly to take into

¹ Cicero says, septies Millies H. S. about six millions sterling, Philip. ii. c. 37. 4000 Talents. Plut. in Anton.

² Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 14. Nonne omni ratione veterani qui armati aderant, cum presidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?

consideration the present state of the commonwealth. He himself professed great zeal for the republic, and a disposition to peace⁷. The greater part of those who spoke after Antony justified or extolled the act of the conspirators, and moved that they should have public thanks and rewards for their services. This they supported by a charge of usurpation and tyranny against Cæsar. Upon this point, however, Antony thought proper to interpose; reminded the Senators how nearly many of them were concerned in this question. “ They
 “ who are to vote in it,” he said, “ will please to
 “ observe, that if Cæsar shall be found to have
 “ acted with legal powers, his acts will remain in
 “ force; if otherwise, all the proceedings that took
 “ place during his administration must be erased
 “ from your records; and his body, as that of a
 “ traitor and a tyrant, made fast on a hook, must
 “ be dragged through the streets, and cast into
 “ the Tiber. This sentence would affect the remotest
 “ parts of the empire, or would extend, in its application, farther perhaps than we should be able
 “ to enforce it by our arms. Part indeed is in our
 “ power. Many of us hold offices, or are destined
 “ by Cæsar’s nomination to offices, either at home
 “ or abroad. Let us begin with divesting ourselves
 “ of what we now hold; and with renouncing our
 “ expectations for the future. After we have given
 “ this proof of our disinterestedness, our allies
 “ abroad will listen to us, when we speak of

⁷ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 14. Philip. i. c. 1.

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By this artful turn, which was given by Antony to the subject now under deliberation, many, who in the late arrangements made by Cæsar, held places in the Senate or magistracy, or, who were by his appointment destined to succeed to high offices at home or abroad, were greatly disconcerted. Some of those who were actually in office, as retainers of the late usurpation, resigned their powers, and laid down the ensigns of magistracy on the steps where they sat; but Dolabella, who, in consequence of a destination made, though not fulfilled by Cæsar, had recently assumed the Consular robes, and who, being under the legal age, had no hopes of being re-elected by the free voice of the People, notwithstanding his declaration in favor of the authors of Cæsar's death, pleaded for the necessity of sustaining all the acts and decrees of that usurper.

While the Senators were engaged in debate on the terms of their first resolution, relating to the act of the conspirators and the death of Cæsar, the People, who had assembled in great multitudes in the market place, became impatient to know what was passing, and pressed on the doors of the temple where the Senate was met, with some attempts to force or break them open*. On this occasion, Antony and Lepidus thought proper to go forth, under pretence of appeasing the tumult; but with

* Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

a real intention to observe what, in this critical state of affairs, was the prevailing disposition of the People, with a full resolution to be governed in their own measures, by what seemed to be the will of the multitude. Finding the humor of the majority, and the disposition of the troops such as they desired, menacing and sanguinary against the conspirators, they endeavoured to enflame their passions, employing signs and gestures of indignation, rather than words, which could not be heard. Among other expressions of this nature, Antony laid open his bosom, to show the armor with which he had thought necessary, in the Senate, and amidst so many concealed enemies, to guard his life. By this, and other signs which he made, he insinuated that Cæsar had fallen in consequence of his excessive confidence, and of the clemency with which he had spared those who became his murderers.

From this scene, which passed in the streets, Antony returned to the Senate; and⁹ the debate being resumed, Dolabella alledging the confusion which must arise from a general suspension of magistracy, and the disorders attending general elections at so critical a time, insisted, that all the magistrates now in office should continue. Cicero pleaded for a general amnesty and oblivion for the past; enumerated the evils which had been brought on the republic, by the contentions and by the vindictive spirit of party; proposed that none should be

⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

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questioned for Cæsar's death, nor any one to be called to account for any violence committed under his authority; that the arrangements made by Cæsar should remain; that every one destined to office, should in his turn succeed according to that destination; and that all the provisions made for the army should be fully secured to them."

After some opposite opinions on the question had been delivered, Antony concluded the debate with a tone of more authority than he had hitherto assumed. "While you deliberated," he said, "on the conduct which you were to hold with respect to the conspirators, I chose to be silent; but when you changed the question, and proposed to condemn the dead, I ventured only to make one objection, which being removable by yourselves, ought to have been the least of all your difficulties. And yet I find it is sufficient to stop all your proceedings! What are we to think of the remaining objections? The whole fabric of the empire rests at this moment on establishments made by Cæsar; at home on the arrangements he has made in the succession to office; abroad on the grants of possessions or immunities made by him to princes, cities, corporations, and provinces, and on the several conditions he has, in return, stipulated with them on behalf of the Roman People. Imagine then, upon the subversion of what he has established, what scenes of confusion must follow. It is true, confusion at a distance

" Dio Cass. lib. xliv. c. 34.

" may

“ may not affect you; but the scene in Italy will
“ be sufficient to occupy your utmost attention.
“ Will the veterans, do you think, who have not
“ yet laid down their arms, or not lost the use of
“ them, of whom many thousands are now in this
“ city, will they allow themselves to be stripped of
“ the grants which were made to them in reward
“ of long, dangerous, and faithful services? You
“ have heard their voice last night in the streets.
“ You have heard their menaces against the au-
“ thors of our present distresses. Will they behold
“ with patience the body of their favorite leader
“ dragged with ignominy in the streets? Will
“ they bear with an indignity, which, though done
“ to his memory, must involve a forfeiture of all
“ that they themselves have received, or a disap-
“ pointment of all they expect in reward of their
“ services? Will the Roman People in general
“ submit to have the principal author of their pre-
“ sent greatness stigmatized by your decrees as a
“ criminal, and to have his assassins rewarded with
“ honors? — The proposal to me, in all its parts,
“ appears wild and impracticable. Let the conspi-
“ rators, if you will, escape with impunity, pro-
“ vided they are sensible of the favor that is shown
“ to them; but talk not of rewards to them; nor,
“ under pretence of censuring the conduct of your
“ late Dictator, wildly open a scene of confusion,
“ by subverting all your present establishments.
“ My opinion is, that the acts of Cæsar, without
“ exception, should be ratified, and that all affairs
“ should be suffered to move on in the channels in

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“ which he has left them. On these preliminary conditions I will submit to an accommodation, and agree that we think no more of the past.”

In delivering this speech, Antony having perceived so powerful a support in the legion which now had possession of the Forum, in the veterans, and in the promiscuous multitudes of people who were assembled round the doors of the Senate, expressed himself with assurance and great vehemence. A decree was accordingly passed, by which all prosecutions on account of Cæsar's death, were prohibited; all his acts, for the sake of peace, were confirmed; all his plans ordered to be carried into execution; and all the grants of land, which had been made by him to the veterans, specially ratified¹¹.

This decree being to be carried to the People for their assent on the following day, and the accommodation of parties being so far advanced, the conspirators intimated an inclination to address themselves to the People; and were instantly attended by great numbers, who assembled to hear them on the ascent of the capitol¹². Brutus spoke from the steps. He explained the motives upon which his friends and himself had thought proper to betake them to their present retreat; and, in speaking on this subject, complained of the outrage which had been offered to Cinna, who, though not concerned in the death of Cæsar, was attacked, for having been supposed to approve of what they had

¹¹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

¹² Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. i.

done. He enumerated the distresses which had afflicted the commonwealth, from the time at which Cæsar commenced hostilities to the present hour; “ A period, during which the best blood of the re-
“ public,” he said, “ was continually shedding,
“ in Spain, in Macedonia, and in Africa, to gra-
“ tify the ambition or vanity of a single man.
“ These things however,” continued he, “ we con-
“ sented to overlook, and in suffering Cæsar to
“ hold the higher offices of state, became bound,
“ by our oath of fidelity, not to call any of his past
“ actions in question. If we had likewise sworn to
“ submit ourselves to perpetual servitude, our ene-
“ mies might have some color for the accusation
“ of perjury, which we are told is now laid to our
“ charge; but the proposal of any such engage-
“ ment we should have rejected with indignation,
“ and we trust that every Roman citizen would
“ have done so also. Sylla, after having gratified
“ his revenge against many who were no doubt his
“ own enemies, at the same time that they were
“ enemies of the public, at last restored the com-
“ monwealth; but Cæsar, without any pretence,
“ besides the gratification of his own ambition, con-
“ tinued, in the city and in the provinces, to usurp
“ all the powers of the empire. The treasury he
“ treated as his property, and the magistrates of
“ Rome as his creatures, to be placed or displaced
“ at his pleasure. One of the last acts of his life, in
“ preparing for his departure from Rome, was to
“ fix the succession of magistrates for several years;
“ in order that in his absence you might not, by

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“choosing your own officers, recover the habit of
“exercising that freedom, and of enjoying those
“rights, of which he meant to deprive you for
“ever.”

From this account of Cæsar's usurpation, Brutus proceeded to speak of the grants which had been made to the veterans. “He acknowledgd the
“long and faithful services which those men had
“performed against the enemies of the common-
“wealth in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain;
“approved of the provision which had been made
“for them, and assured them of his concurrence in
“carrying this provision into full execution. At
“the same time he lamented the sufferings of those
“who had been stripped of their ancient possessi-
“ons, to make way for those new grants; propos-
“ed that they should have a compensation from
“the treasury, and hoped that the justice of the
“commonwealth would be employed in equally
“protecting the rights of every citizen.”

This speech was received with applause; and on the following day the act of oblivion being confirm-
ed by the People, and the children of Antony hav-
ing been sent¹ as hostages to the capitol, the
conspirators came down from thence, and were re-
ceived with loud acclamations. After both parties had
saluted each other with mutual congratulations and
expressions of friendship, Cassius retired to sup with
Antony, and Brutus with Lepidus. The republic
appeared to be thoroughly re-established. The

¹ Cicer. Philip. i. c. i.

nobles in general expressed their satisfaction in the present situation of affairs, and extolled the authors of Cæsar's death as the restorers of freedom to their country. Many, however, who had shared in the late usurpation, having tasted of military power, and being unable to acquiesce in the condition of mere citizens, however dignified, or to accommodate themselves to the restraints and formalities of legal government, were likely to prove bad members of the reviving republic. Antony in particular considered himself as the successor of Cæsar, and could not for a moment cease to think how he might grasp the sovereignty, and dispose of all the dignities and emoluments of the state.

The Senate had weakly, under the show of moderation, resolved to confirm Cæsar's will, and to ratify all his acts, both public and private; they had decreed that the remains of Cæsar should be honored with a public funeral, which was to be conducted in the manner which his friends should think proper.

Antony was prepared to take advantage of these circumstances, towards preserving the party of Cæsar both in the army and in the city, not doubting that, while this party remained, he himself should remain at its head. For this purpose he published Cæsar's will, in which he knew that there were many clauses likely to gratify the People; and to inflame their minds against his assassins. Among these, were a legacy of money to be distributed to the inferior citizens, at the rate of twenty-five Attic drachmas, about two pounds ten shillings a

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man¹⁴; or, according to Octavius, quoted by Dio Cassius, 300 H. S. about the same sum; together with an assignment of his gardens on the river, as public walks for the service and pleasure of the People. Many legacies were likewise bequeathed to private persons. The inheritance with the name of Cæsar, was devised to Octavius, grandson to his sister Julia. The succession, in case of the failure of this young man, was devised to Decimus Brutus, who, at the same time, together with Marc Antony, was made guardian to the young Cæsar, and executor of the will.

Upon the publication of this will, the partisans of Antony took occasion to extol the munificence and generosity of Cæsar towards the Roman People, to blacken the conduct of the conspirators, representing that of Decimus Brutus, in particular, as equal to parricide; and Antony, in this manner, having secured the public attention and favor, proceeded to celebrate the funeral with all the honors that were due to a public benefactor, and to a common parent of the People.

Cæsar's body, in the general consternation, had been left for some hours on the spot where it fell. It was at last borne on a litter by a few slaves to his own house. In this confusion, one of the arms, all over bloody, was left hanging over the side of the litter; and this circumstance, though at the time in appearance unnoticed, yet remained with

¹⁴ Appian de Bello Civili, lib. ii.

a deep impression on the minds of those who beheld it. On examining the body, there were found twenty-three wounds, sufficiently ghastly, although no more than one or two were mortal. Antony determined to exhibit this spectacle to the People, accompanied with that of the robes, which were pierced and torn in the struggle with which Cæsar fell, and all over stained with his blood. He likewise ordered a solemn dirge to be performed, with interludes of music, agreeable to the practice at Roman funerals, and suited to that particular occasion. He himself prepared to speak the oration; and a day being fixed for the solemnity, a pile was raised in the Campus Martius, near to the tomb of Julia, the daughter of the deceased, and the wife of Pompey. Although it was intended that the body should be consumed on this pile in the Campus Martius, the funeral oration was to be spoken from the Rostra in the Forum, and a couch was placed there, adorned with ivory and gold, on which was laid the corpse, with an effigy of the deceased, covered with purple, and over it a trophy, on which was to be hung the robes in which he was killed. The whole of this pageant was covered up, and adorned with a gilded canopy of state. In bearing it to the Forum, the pall was carried by magistrates then in office, or by persons who had passed through the highest stations of the commonwealth. But in the procession, the streets were so crowded, that no order could be kept, and multitudes who ought to have passed in regular procession

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V. the obsequies were to be performed¹⁵.

Antony began the funeral oration, with an apology for intruding on the patience of many, who possibly took no particular concern in the catastrophe of Cæsar's life. "Had Cæsar been a private man," he said, "I should have proceeded to his funeral in silence; but one who has died in the first station of the republic, is entitled to public notice. And my own station as Consul, were I qualified for the task, would have imposed on me a special duty on this occasion; but in this instance, the eulogium of the dead must proceed from a higher authority than mine. The Senate and the people of Rome have spoken, and they have left to me only the task of repeating what they have said." After these words, he read over the decrees of the Senate and People, enumerating the titles, dignities, honors, and powers, which had been conferred on Cæsar. He spoke of the lustre of his family, the graces and accomplishments of his person, and of his singular abilities; gave a general account of the wars in which he had been engaged; his splendid successes, and the accession of glory and of empire he had procured to the Roman state: and when he had gained so far on the attention of his audience, he addressed himself to the popular part in particular. "When you were oppressed," he said, "by a faction that engrossed all the powers and dignities of the commonwealth; Cæsar generously

¹⁵ Sueton. in Cæsar.

“ interposed in your behalf. When this faction
“ had withdrawn themselves from the allegiance
“ that was due to the government of their country;
“ and when they had actually armed first the pro-
“ vinces of Spain, afterwards Macedonia, Greece,
“ Asia, Africa, and all the eastern parts of the em-
“ pire against you, he braved the storms of winter
“ and the superior force of the enemy; he dispersed
“ the cloud which had gathered over your heads; he
“ carried the glory of your arms into Asia, Africa,
“ Egypt, and yet a third time into Spain. His ene-
“ mies every where experienced his valor in battle,
“ and his clemency in victory. He pardoned many
“ who were repeatedly in arms against him; and
“ when he dreaded the effects of excessive lenity
“ towards those who appeared to be incorrigible,
“ he sought for pretences to pardon his enemies,
“ under the show of gratifying his friends. ”

“ On the subject of his administration in the state,
“ I need not make any observation to you. You
“ were witnesses of his conduct. Descended of
“ your ancient kings, he had more glory in refusing
“ a crown that was offered to him, than they had
“ in wearing it with all its honors. — You loved
“ him — you set him at the head of your priesthood
“ — at the head of your army — at the head of the
“ republic; — you declared his person as sacred as that
“ of your Tribunes — you declared him the father of
“ his country — you showed him to the world,
“ adorned with the ensigns of sovereign power —
“ your Dictator — your guardian, and the terror of
“ your enemies. But he is no more. — This sacred

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“ person is now breathless before you. The father
“ of his country is dead : not, alas ! of disease —
“ not of the decline of years — not by the hands of
“ foreign enemies — not far from his own country
“ — but here within your walls , and in the Roman
“ Senate , in the vigor of health , in the midst of
“ all his designs for your prosperity and glory. He
“ who often repelled the swords of his enemies , has
“ fallen by the hands of treacherous friends , or by
“ the hands of those whom his clemency had spared.
“ — But what availed his clemency ? what availed
“ the laws with which he so anxiously guarded the
“ lives of his fellow - citizens ? His own he could
“ not guard from traitors. His mangled body , and
“ his grey hairs clotted with blood , are now exposed
“ in that Forum which he so often adorned with
“ his triumphs ; and near to that place of public
“ debate , from which he so often captivated the
“ people of Rome with his eloquence “ . ”

At this passage , it is said that Antony began to
change the tone of lamentation into that of rage ;
that he raised his voice to indignation and threats ,
but that he was checked by a general murmur of
the Senators ; and that he thought proper again to
soften his expressions. “ The gods , ” he said ,
“ are masters of the fortunes of men. It is our
“ part to forget the past , to look forward to the fu-
“ ture , to cultivate peace among ourselves , and to
“ accompany this hero with songs of praise to the
“ mansions of the blest. ” Having spoke these

“ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 49.

words, he tucked up his robe, and disengaged his arms as for some vehement action; and standing over the bier in which the effigy was laid, uncovered it; but, as starting from the sight, or struck into silence, he held up the torn and bloody garment to view, sunk again into a sorrowful tone, and prayed that it were possible for him to redeem that precious life with his own. Being interrupted with a general cry of lamentation from the People, he made a pause to hear the interlude. At a passage of the song, in which Cæsar was personated in the following words, "For this I spared, that they might murder me;" a general cry of indignation burst from the multitude; and at the same time, the effigy of the dead, with all its wounds and stains of blood, being raised to view, the People could no longer be restrained. Part ran to avenge his blood on the persons of the conspirators, and part tore up the benches and tribunals of the magistrates, dismantled the Senate-house, brought into heaps the spoils of the supposed enemies of Cæsar, and forgetting the preparations which had been made for a funeral pile in the field of Mars, brought the most precious combustible materials they could find to light a fire in the Forum, on which to consume the body of the dead.

From this beginning, the People continued during the whole night to bring fresh materials. The officers who had attended the procession, stripped off the robes in which they were dressed, and cast them in the flames. Women crowded to the pile, and threw upon it, as a sacrifice to the manes of the

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dead, the ornaments of their own persons, the gorgets and the prætextas of their children. The People, in general, appeared to be seized with an epidemical phrenzy, of which neither the degree of their attachment to Cæsar in his life-time, nor the manner in which they had received the first accounts of his death, had given any adequate expectations; they ran through the streets denouncing vengeance on his enemies, and proceeded to violence against every person who was represented as such. Helvius Cinna, being mistaken for Cornelius of the same name, who, on the preceding day, had declared his approbation of the conspiracy, was put to death by the populace, his body torn in pieces, and his head carried in procession on the point of a spear¹⁷. The perpetrators of this murder being led by the retainers and dependants of Cæsar's family, snatched lighted brands from the funeral pile, and attacked the houses of Brutus, Cassius, and the other conspirators. They even attempted to demolish Pompey's theatre, in which Cæsar had been killed, and lighting many fires at once in different parts of the city, threatened the whole with immediate destruction.

In these riots, though projected by Antony, the public disorder was carried to a greater height than he had wished or foreseen. His intention was to incite a popular cry against the authors of Cæsar's death, and to check the Senate in any opposition they were likely to give in the execution of his own

¹⁷ Sueton. in Cæs. Plut. Ibid. Appian. Dio Cass. &c.

designs. But when the crimes which were committed began to reflect dishonor on the party of Cæsar, and when all persons of property were alarmed, and the city itself was threatened with ruin, he found himself obliged, with the authority of a magistrate, to interpose and put an end to tumults of so dangerous a nature. For this purpose, in concert with Dolabella, he issued an edict, prohibiting the populace to assemble in arms on any pretence whatever, and posted guards in different parts of the town to secure the observance of it.

Antony having by these means restored the peace of the city, and dispersed all the crowds which had assembled, except that which still remained at the place of Cæsar's funeral, where the populace continued for some time to feed the pile, he made a journey to the country, and remained in Campania great part of April and May. During this time, he was assiduous in his visits to the quarters and new settlements of the veterans, on whom he was for the future to rely for support in the pretensions, which it is probable he had already conceived, and which were much too high for the safety of the commonwealth. In his absence, one Ematius, who had formerly assumed the name of Marius, and under this popular designation had been busy in disturbing the public peace, and who, upon this account, had by the late Dictator himself been driven from the city, now again appeared, affected to lead in the riotous honors which were paid to the memory of Cæsar, and, attended by the populace, erected an altar or monument on the spot where the corpse

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had been burnt, and drew multitudes thither as to a place of devotion. On this occasion, Dolabella, who had offended many of the more respectable citizens, by assuming, without any regular authority, the dignity of Consul, now recovered their favor by a vigorous exercise of his power against this impostor, gave orders that Ematius should be put to death, many of his accomplices thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and the monument or altar they had erected should be rased to the ground ¹⁸.

By these executions, the peace of the city seemed to be established, and even the commonwealth itself in some measure restored. Both the Consuls affected the character of ordinary magistrates, showed a proper deference to the Senate, and in all things endeavoured to give satisfaction to the friends of the republic. Antony, upon his return to the city, consulted the principal Senators upon every motion which he proposed to make, and referred the determination of every question to the free discussion of that body. He affected to have no secrets; and though empowered by the late act of the Senate to carry into execution the different articles of Cæsar's will, and to complete all his intended arrangements, he did not, under this description, propose any measure but what was generally known and approved ¹⁹.

In pursuance of this system of moderation, it was proposed by Antony, that Sextus, the remain-

¹⁸ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 50 & 51. App. de Bell. Civ. l. ii.

¹⁹ Cicero Philip. i. c. i.

ing son of Pompey, who under the authority of the late Dictator had been declared an outlaw, should be restored to his country, and have a compensation in money for the losses which had been sustained by his family: and, to provide likewise for the future safety of the commonwealth, as well as for that of private persons, it was proposed that a law should be enacted to abolish for ever the name and power of Dictator. At the same time all the honorary votes which had passed in favor of Brutus and Cassius, and every act which had a tendency to mitigate the animosity of Cæsar's party, to pacify the veterans, and to incline them, without any further disturbance, to settle on the lands which had been allotted to them, had his concurrence.

The Senate, in order to terminate as soon as possible every occasion of public uneasiness and alarm, although they greatly disapproved of the reward that was given to the army, for having, in a manner, subdued the republic, and had reason to dread the precedent, yet hastened to the performance of all Cæsar's engagements, in order to deprive the veterans of any pretence for multiplying their demands, or remaining together in arms.

These circumstances had a very favorable aspect, and the storm, which threatened the city and the commonwealth, appeared to be laid. Many had foretold, that the permission of a public funeral to Cæsar would have dangerous consequences; and during the late tumults and riots thought themselves sufficiently justified in these predictions. But their apprehensions now appeared to have been ground-

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less, and the authors of the late moderate counsels, in which the Senate was induced to temporize, and to make concessions in such matters as were of less moment, in order to appease the animosity of parties, and to obtain their consent in matters of more consequence, were now highly applauded.

All the conspirators, in the height of the late disorders which arose on account of Cæsar's funeral, had withdrawn from the city, and, under different honorable pretences which were furnished them by the Senate, continued to absent themselves from Rome. Many of them had been formerly named to the government of provinces, and now proceeded to take possession of their lots. Decimus Brutus, in this capacity, repaired to the Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Asia, and Tullius Cimber to Bithynia.

Marcus Brutus had been appointed to the government of Macedonia, and Cassius to that of Syria; but the two last being actually in office as Prætors, could not take possession of provinces until the expiration of their year, nor could they regularly absent themselves from the city, without some decree from the Senate to dispense with their attendance as officers of state. Under the present favorable aspect of public affairs, and after the Consuls had given such evident proofs of their respect for the commonwealth, it was supposed that the authors of the late revolution might now return in safety to the capital; and Cicero himself, on this occasion, was so confident of the perfect restoration of peace to the republic, that in writing to Atticus, he assures him, that "Brutus may now walk the streets
of

“ of Rome with a crown of gold on his head.” In this, however, with all his penetration, he had over-rated the professions, and mistaken the designs of Antony. This profligate adventurer, the more dangerous that he was supposed by his debaucheries, disqualified for any deep or arduous design, had assumed the disguise of moderation and deference to the Senate, merely to conceal his intentions, until he had formed a party on which he could rely. He had so far imposed on the public, by affecting to be alarmed with danger to his own person from the riots which he was employed to suppress after the funeral of Cæsar, that the Senate permitted him to arm his friends; and suffered him, under their own authority, to assemble a powerful body of men amounting to some thousands, chiefly composed of officers who had served under the late Dictator, and who now submitted to act as the guards of Antony’s person²⁰. Being thus strengthened, when the return of Brutus and Cassius was mentioned to him, he betrayed the falshood of his former professions. “ They cannot be safe,” he said, “ in the midst of so many of Cæsar’s retainers and friends²¹.”

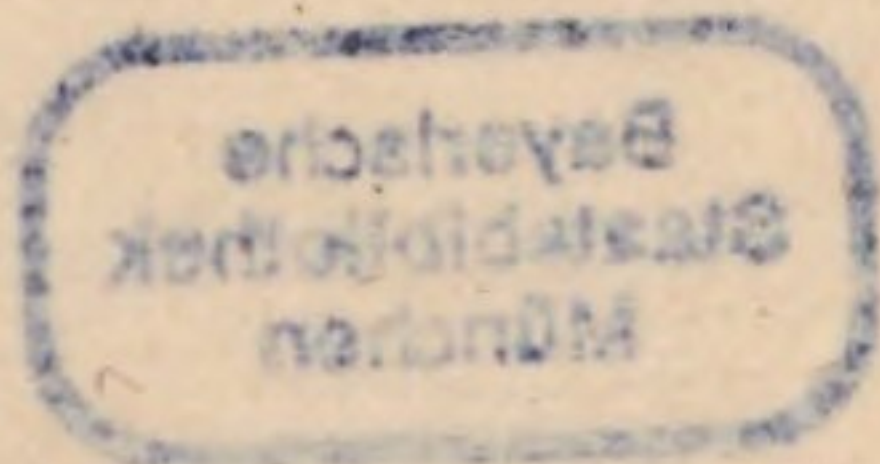
Antony was greatly awed by the abilities of Brutus and Cassius, by the respect which was paid them by the public, by their credit with the Senate, and by their determined resolution to maintain its authority. In order, therefore, to fortify himself

²⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i.

²¹ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. i.

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against them, he maintained a continual correspondence with the veterans of the late Cæsar's army, courted their attachment, and stated himself as their protector and leader. In this capacity, he made his visit to their settlements in Campania, where, it has been observed, he passed the greater part of the months of April and May. At his return, he endeavoured to strengthen himself still more, by entering into a concert with Lepidus, who, in the quality of second in command to Cæsar, or general of the horse to the Dictator, remained at the head of all the military forces in Italy. He engaged himself to obtain for Lepidus the dignity of chief Pontiff; and, in order to cement the union of their families, proposed a marriage of his own daughter with the son of this officer. He had been averse to the promotion of Dolabella; and, at the death of Cæsar, would have opposed his assuming the dignity of Consul, if he had not been prevented at first, by the uncertainty of his own situation, and afterwards by the countenance which this intruder into public office began to receive from the Senate. In these circumstances, to dispute the accession of Dolabella, would be to throw him entirely into the hands of the republican party; he thought proper therefore to disguise his inclinations, and took measures to gain him, or at least to set him at variance with the authors of the late conspiracy. For this purpose, he made a tender of his services to procure him an appointment to command in any of the more advantageous provincial situations.



Notwithstanding that Cassius was already appointed to the government of Syria, Antony, according to agreement, undertook to support the pretensions of Dolabella, and to aid him in supplanting Cassius at the meeting of the Senate, which was to be held on the first of June. Having in this manner, with great industry and application, strengthened himself by his coalition with Lepidus and Dolabella, the one at the head of the army, the other his own colleague in the principal office of the state; and having secured the attachment and support of the veteran soldiers recently settled in Italy, he no longer kept any terms with the Senatorian party, or with the friends of the republic. Having formerly obtained a resolution of the Senate to confirm all the acts, and to maintain the arrangements which had been devised by Cæsar, and being master of the papers and memorials in which these were contained, he brought extracts and quotations from them in support of his several proposals, without procuring the originals; and in this form commenced, in the name of the dead, a reign more arbitrary than that of the living Cæsar had been. As he had never communicated to any one the papers or memorials from which these authorities were drawn, he expunged or he inserted whatever he thought proper, or even, without taking this trouble, framed his quotations on every subject to the purpose which he meant to serve. He made Cæsar's memorials to seem with intended laws and acts of the Senate, and of the People; with grants and forfeitures of lands; with the par-

B O O K don of crimes and recalls from banishment; with
V. orders for levying contributions from princes, states,
 and private persons; with compositions to be ex-
 acted from towns and corporations; for the ransom
 of their possessions, liberties, and franchises; and
 even with distinct resolutions and decisions relating
 to matters which took their rise after Cæsar's death²².
 His wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, likewise avail-
 ed herself of this valuable mine, and sold offices and
 commissions together, with entire provinces and
 kingdoms²³, to those who were willing to pay her
 price.

Among the acts of Antony, during this Consu-
 late, is mentioned, a change which he made in the
 judiciary law, by which he obtained, that a certain
 number of Centurions should be entered on the
 rolls of the judges, in place of the revenue offi-
 cers²⁴ whom Cæsar had excluded. Relying on
 this and other artifices, which procured him the
 support of the army, he rose every day in his pre-
 sumption; and while he incited Dolabella to persist
 in supplanting Cassius in the province of Syria, he
 himself proposed to supplant Brutus in his nomina-
 tion to the government of Macedonia. By this ap-
 pointment, he meant to place himself at the head
 of the army, which Cæsar, to be in readiness for
 his Asiatic or Parthian expedition, had transported
 into Macedonia; and it appeared afterwards to be

²² Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 38.

²³ Idem ad Atticum, lib. xiv. ep. 12.

²⁴ Tribuni Ærarii.

his design, as soon as he had obtained the command of this army, to procure an appointment to supersede Decimus Brutus in the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and, under pretence of expelling him from thence, to retransport this army again into Italy.

In order to obtain acts for so much of these purposes as he was then about to execute, he summoned all the members of the Senate²⁵ to assemble on the first of June. He had brought into the city, to overawe this assembly, great numbers of the veterans, on whom he himself, besides confirming the settlements which had been assigned to them by Cæsar, had bestowed considerable favors. At this meeting of the Senate, few of the members, who were inclined to oppose the Consul, thought that they themselves could with safety attend. Even Hirtius and Pansa, though named for the Consulate of the following year, and protected by the dignity which belonged to that destination, thought proper to absent themselves²⁶.

At a call of the Senate, so ill attended, Antony obtained for himself, without opposition, the government of Macedonia, with the command of the army which had been destined for Asia, but which, from Cæsar's death, had remained in that province. He at the same time obtained for Dolabella the province of Syria to the exclusion of Cassius; and by these several acts stated himself and his colleague as in open enmity with the

²⁵ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 6.

²⁶ Ibid. Philip. i. c. 2.

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V. lately affected to court, but whom they now proceeded to strip of the preferments and honors which had been assigned to them by the commonwealth.

Under pretence of making compensation to Cassius and Brutus for the loss of the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, of which they were now deprived, Antony procured them appointments which they considered as an additional insult; that of Brutus, to inspect the supplies of corn from Asia; and that of Cassius, to superintend the supplies of the same kind which were brought from Sicily.

While the Senate complied with Antony in his demands on these several subjects, they endeavoured to restrain his abuse of the supposed will and memorials of Cæsar. For this purpose they appointed a committee of their own number to inspect the contents of those papers, and to attest the reality of such notes and instructions as were to be carried into execution under the authority of the Senate. Antony, however, paid no regard to this appointment, nor even suffered the committee to meet in discharge of the duty for which they were named.

About this time²⁷, and alarmed by these violences, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, departed from Rome. He had, before the death of Cæsar, intended to withdraw into Greece,

²⁷ The middle of June.

under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, and had obtained Cæsar's consent, and the leave of the Senate for that purpose. On Cæsar's death, having hopes that the republic was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain in the city; but being now satisfied that these hopes were vain; or, in his own terms, observing, *that, although the tree had been cut down on the ides of March, its roots were yet entire, and made vigorous shoots*, he resumed his former design of absenting himself; and instead of applying to the Senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly appointed governor of Syria, a commission of lieutenancy, which he was to employ as a pretence for crossing the Ionian sea. In execution of this design he arrived on the twenty-sixth of June at Antium, where he found Brutus, with his wife Porcia, and mother Servilia, with other persons of distinction. He gave it as his opinion, that Brutus and Cassius should accept of the commissions assigned to them as inspectors of the supplies of corn from Sicily and Asia, and should repair to their several provinces for that purpose. While the company were yet deliberating on this subject, they were joined by Cassius, who, upon Cicero's repeating what he had said, answered, with a stern countenance, That he would not go into Sicily, nor accept as a favor, what was intended as an affront. He complained that opportunities had been lost of rendering effectual the first and principal step which had been taken to deliver the commonwealth, and was inclined to blame Decimus Brutus for some part of

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this neglect. Cicero censured the conduct of the whole party, for not having secured the completion of a business that was so successfully begun. "You ought," he said, "immediately, upon the death of Cæsar, to have assumed the government, to have called the Senate by your own authority, and to have taken advantage of the spirit that was generally raised among the People for the recovery of their legal constitution."

In the result of this conference, Brutus and Cassius, as well as Cicero, took their resolution to depart from Italy; and the two former, with so much resentment of the indignity which they had suffered in their appointment to inspect the importation of corn, that they engaged Servilia²⁸ to employ her influence in having this appointment expunged from the public acts or records of the Senate. Before their departure, they wrote a joint letter to Antony, conveyed in expressions that were guarded and polite; but demanding an explanation of the terms in which they stood with him, and of the purposes for which he had assembled the veterans of Cæsar in such numbers at Rome. Some time after this letter was sent, they drew up a joint edict or manifesto, setting forth the cause of their absence from the capital, and protesting against the violence which was daily offered to the constitution of the republic.

In answer to this letter, and to the paper with which it was followed, Antony issued a manifesto

²⁸ The mother of Brutus.

full of invective and contumely, and which he transmitted, under a formal address, to the Prætors Brutus and Cassius, accompanied with a letter in the same style. The originals of these several papers are lost; but in reply to the last, we find addressed to Antony, and signed by Brutus and Cassius, the following original preserved among the letters of Cicero :

“ Brutus and Cassius, Prætors, to Antony, Consul, &c.

“ We have received your letter, which, like
 “ your manifesto, is full of reproach and of threats,
 “ and very improper from you to us. We have
 “ done you no injury; and if we were inclined to
 “ hostilities, your letter should not restrain us.
 “ But you know our resolutions, and you presume
 “ to threaten us, to the end that our pacific conduct may be imputed to fear. We wish you all
 “ the preferments and honors which are consistent
 “ with the freedom of the commonwealth. We
 “ have no desire to quarrel with you; but we value our liberties more than we value your friendship. Consider well what you undertake, and
 “ what you can support. Do not be encouraged
 “ so much by the length of Cæsar’s life, as warned
 “ by the short duration of the power he usurped.
 “ We pray to God, that your designs may be innocent; or, if they be not innocent, that they
 “ may be as little hurtful to yourself as the safety
 “ of the commonwealth can permit ²⁹. ”

²⁹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 3. Dated 4th of August.

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These altercations led to an open breach. The Prætors wrote to Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, and Cimber, to put their several provinces in a state of defence, and to make what further provision they could of men and money as for a certain war. Cicero, in continuing his voyage to Greece, had arrived on the sixth of August at Leucopetræ, beyond Rhegium; and had set out from thence; but being put back, was met by some citizens at Rhegium, just arrived from Rome, who brought him copies of the edicts or manifestos issued by Cassius and Brutus, with a report, that a full meeting of the Senate was expected on the first of September; that Brutus and Cassius had sent circular letters requesting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his designs; that the cause of the republic, having so favorable an aspect, his own departure was censured, and his presence was earnestly wished for.

Upon these representations, Cicero took his resolution to return to Rome, and arrived again at Pompeii, on the nineteenth of August³⁰. Here, among the accounts of what had passed in the Senate on the first of that month, he was informed that Piso, the father of Calpurnia, and father-in-law of the late Cæsar, had, notwithstanding this connexion and his interest in the remains of the late usurpation, vigorously opposed the measures of Antony; and, on that occasion, had acquired great distinction, as a man of ability, and as an upright

³⁰ Cicer. ad Att. lib. xvi. ep. 7.

citizen, but that not being properly supported in the Senate, he had declined any further struggle, and had absented himself on the following day. C H A P.
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Cicero, though not greatly encouraged by these reports, continued his journey to Rome; and having arrived, on the last of August, found that the expectations which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions were void of foundation; and that the outrages he was likely to commit were such, as to make it extremely unsafe for any distinguished friend of the republic to come in his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first of September, sent an excuse to the Senate, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain shut up in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the Senate as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression he burst into rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he persisted in his supposed contumacy, to pull down his house about his ears; the ordinary method of forcing those to submission, who shut themselves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from the sentence of the laws. He was dissuaded, however, from any attempt to execute his threat; and being himself absent from the Senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the Consul, delivered that oration which is entitled the first Philippic. In his speech he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in

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terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present Consul.

Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the accounts he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the Senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist. These mutual attacks thus made in the absence of the parties, produced from Cicero that famous oration which is entitled the second Philippic; a model of eloquence in the style of ancient invective; but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations supposed to be made in his presence, never was at all delivered, and is to be considered as a mere rhetorical pleading in a fictitious cause. The offence, however, which was given by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue, till it ended with Cicero's life.

While the Consul Antony in this manner threw off the mask of a legal magistrate, and acted in some measure as a person who succeeded to the military usurpation erected by Cæsar, a new actor appeared on the stage of public affairs, from whose youth nothing important, it was thought, could, for some time, be expected. This was Caius Octavius, the grand nephew of Julius Cæsar, by his niece Attia, and the son of Octavius, who, in the course of State-preferments, had arrived at the dignity of Prætor; and in this rank, having governed the province of Macedonia, died suddenly on his return from thence. His widow the mother of this

young man, married Philippus, a citizen of moderate parts, but upright intentions. In the house of Philippus the young Octavius was brought up, and passed his early years, while his grand-uncle was engaged in the most active parts of his life, and while he was insinuating himself by intrigues, or forcing his way at the head of armies to the sovereignty of the Roman empire. Elevated by his connexion with this relation to a high situation, and to higher views, he had followed him in the late campaign against the sons of Pompey in Spain, and was intended, though a minor, to succeed Lepidus, under the Dictator, as general of the horse.

Upon the return of Cæsar into Italy, and after the army destined for the war in Asia had been transported into Macedonia, the young Octavius was sent to Apollonia, as a place at which he might continue his studies, and his military exercises, and be in the way to join the army, and to attend his uncle in the projected expedition to the East.

After Octavius had been about six months at Apollonia, a messenger arrived in the beginning of the night with accounts of Cæsar's death, bearing, that he had fallen in the Senate; but without determining whether he fell by the hands of a few, or in the execution of a general resolution of the whole body. The young man was greatly dejected and perplexed in his thoughts. The military men then about him advised him to repair to the quarters of the army in Macedonia, and to put himself at their head. But his step-father Philippus, and his mother Attia, in their letters, had cautioned

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B O O K him against this or any other ambitious resolution;
V. they advised him to return into Italy in the most private manner, and warned him to avoid giving any umbrage to the partisans of the republic, who had now got the ascendant at Rome, and would not allow any person whatever to tread in the dangerous steps of his late uncle.

Octavius accordingly embarked for Italy; and as he knew not what might be the disposition of the troops who were then stationed at Brundisium, he chose to land at Lupia, a place at some little distance, and on the same coast. Here he received farther accounts from Rome, with particulars of the conspiracy; the proceedings of the Senate; accommodation of the parties; the tumults that arose at Cæsar's funeral; the will, and his own share in it: but his friends still persisted in recommending a private station, and advised him even to drop his pretensions to the name and inheritance of Cæsar. But this young man, though only turned of eighteen, took upon him to decide for himself in this matter. He sent an officer to sound the disposition of the garrison at Brundisium; and finding that they were inclined to revenge the death of their late favorite leader, and that they resented the other proceedings of the republican party, he proceeded in person to Brundisium in the most public manner, and was met at the gates by the troops, who received him with all the honors thought due to the son of Cæsar.

From this time forward, Octavius assumed the name and designation of his late uncle. He was

soon after attended by persons of all ranks from the neighbourhood of Brundisium, and set forward to Rome with a retinue, to which, as he passed on the way, he received continual accession of numbers. The veterans, in general, who had grants of land, flocked to him; complained of the remissness of Antony in suffering the assassins of his own friend and benefactor to go unpunished, and declared their resolution to be revenged, as soon as any person appeared to lead them. Octavius thanked them for their grateful respect to his father's memory, but exhorted them to moderation and submission. He wished to know the state of parties more exactly before he should declare himself; and on his journey to Rome, young as he was, employed all the caution and wariness of age for the security of his person, lest any disguised enemies should have insinuated themselves amongst a multitude of professed friends, who were yet generally unknown to him. At Terracina, about fifty miles from Rome, he received a report, that the Consuls had superseded Brutus and Cassius in the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, and had assigned them inferior stations, by this account, at Cyrene and Crete; that many exiles were recalled, particularly Sextus Pompeius; and that, under pretence of executing the intentions of Cæsar, many new members were admitted into the Senate¹¹.

Octavius, upon his arrival at Rome, found his step-father and his mother under great apprehensions

¹¹ Appian de Bell. Civili, lib. ii.

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from the power of the Senate, and from the general dispositions which appeared in the late act of indemnity that was passed in favor of those who had borne an active part in Cæsar's death. And these apprehensions were strongly confirmed by the neglect of Antony, who took no notice of his arrival, and did not pay that attention which might be thought due to the name of Cæsar; but he neither desponded nor exposed himself by any hasty act of presumption. He said, "That, being so young a man, and in a private station he could not expect that the first advances should be made to him from the Roman Consul; that he would soon convince the Senate of his dutiful intentions towards them; that all the world must applaud in him the endeavours he should make to bring the authors of his father's death to justice; that the act of indemnity, in favor of the assassins, had passed when there was no one to oppose it; but that a charge of murder, when directly brought³², could not be slighted by the Senate, by the Roman People, nor even by Antony himself: that to decline the inheritance which was left him, would be disrespectful to the memory of Cæsar, and injurious to the Roman People, in whose behalf he was made executor of his father's will. Cæsar," he said, "has distinguished me, and honored me; and I had rather die, than appear unworthy of such a father." His friends were silenced by the appearance of so

³² Appian de Bell. Civili, lib. ii.

much discretion and resolution. They broke off the conference with an advice which already appeared to be unnecessary, That he should do nothing rashly, nor embrace violent measures, where prudence might equally gain his purpose.

Next morning this young man attended by a numerous company of his friends, repaired to the Forum, and presented himself before the Prætor C. Antonius, in order to declare in form his acceptance of the inheritance of his late uncle, and in order to be invested with the name of Cæsar. From thence he went to Pompey's gardens where Antony then resided; and after being made to wait, for some time, in a manner that sufficiently expressed, on the part of Antony, a dislike to his visit, he was admitted to a conference.

The young Octavius, having been educated as the nearest relation to Cæsar, and destined to inherit his fortunes, had conceived the extent of his own importance from the height of Cæsar's power; he considered the sovereignty of the empire, in some measure, as his birthright, and his own interest as the central point to which all public transactions should tend. In this conference with Antony, he is said to have betrayed more of this character than suited his present condition, or than could be reconciled with the discretion with which he had acted on other occasions. He entered with the Consul on a review of his conduct as an officer of State, from the death of Cæsar to the present moment; thanked him for the regard he had in some things shown to his father's memory, and

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with equal confidence censured and arraigned him in others. "You did well," he said, "in opposing the thanks which the Senate was about to decree to the murderers of my father and of your own benefactor and friend; and you did well in depriving Brutus and Cassius of the important provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but why preclude my just resentments by an act of indemnity? Why assign any provinces at all to those assassins? Why suffer Decimus Brutus in particular, with so great a force, to keep possession of Gaul? This is not only to spare, but to arm them against me." He concluded by demanding restitution of the money which Antony had seized in the temple of Ops³³, to the end that he might, without delay, pay off to the Roman People the legacies bequeathed to them by Cæsar.

Octavius, in this first specimen of his boldness and address, although he ventured to insult the Roman Consul, paid court to the army and to the People; and perhaps wished for the reputation of having quarrelled with Antony on the subject of his remissness in avenging the death of Cæsar, and of his own impatience to pay off the contents of his will. Antony, being surprised and piqued at the arrogance of his speech, and of his pretensions, endeavoured to check his ambition, by putting him in mind, that although he was named the heir of Cæsar's estate, he must not pretend to inherit his dignities; that the Roman constitution acknow-

³³ Plut. in Antonio. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

ledged no hereditary powers; that he ought to remember in whose presence he stood; that the Roman Consul must be equally indifferent to his approbation, or to his censure. "To me," he said, "it was owing that your uncle was not declared an usurper and a tyrant; consequently, to me it is owing that you have any other inheritance by him besides the disgrace of being related to a traitor, whose body had been dragged through the streets, and cast into the Tiber. As to any money which may have been lodged in the treasury, of that," he said, "Cæsar had already diverted too much to his own private uses; that when his receipts came to be examined, and the sums not accounted for to be claimed, much public money might be found among his effects; that Cæsar himself, if living, could not refuse to make up his accounts; and that a proposal was actually in agitation to have them stated and examined."

From these altercations, Octavius and Antony parted on very ill terms, and were publicly known to have quarrelled. Octavius, from an affected zeal to put the people in possession of the legacy bequeathed to them by his father, brought his own effects to sale. Antony, on his part, promoted the inquiry into the applications of public money, and gave out, that the heirs of the late Dictator would have great sums to refund, and little reversion. These heirs, in return, pleaded the late decree of the Senate and People, ratifying all Cæsar's acts, and consequently precluding all inquiries into this, or any other part of his administration; but as

BOOK Antony could fabricate acts of Cæsar, when wanting,
V. to his purpose, so he could set aside or evade real acts when they stood in his way.

In the mean time the friends of the republic rejoiced at a breach which seemed to weaken their enemies, and gave them hopes, that a competition for the succession to Cæsar's power would divide the army, and shake the foundation on which that power was supported. In this contest Antony, by his age, his authority, and by his great influence in the commonwealth, having so much the advantage, they thought it safest to promote the interest of his antagonist, who was in a private station, a minor, under the direction of relations inclined to moderation, and strongly possessed with deference to the Senate. Antony, by his arrogance, and the public contempt with which he treated the heir of Cæsar, gave offence to the party from which he hoped for support. Having already obtained all the ends which he proposed to himself in courting the Senate, he pulled off the mask, and set them at defiance. Octavius, on the contrary, while he endeavoured to supplant his antagonist in the favor of the People, affected great deference to the Senate, and regard to the commonwealth. He even changed his language in public respecting the conspirators, and to their friends affected a desire to be reconciled with them. Being at a country-house of Philip-pus, near to that of Cicero, he took this opportunity to pay his court to a person of so much consideration in the republican party; accosted him with the title of father, and mentioning his friends

of the conspiracy with respect, affected to put himself entirely under his protection ³⁴. Cicero being either the dupe of these artifices, or willing to encourage Octavius against Antony, seemed to listen to his professions; notwithstanding that Philippus, who was interested to save the republic, at the same time informed him, that he did not believe this artful boy was sincere ³⁵.

While the young Cæsar thus strove to ingratiate himself with the party of the Senate, his chief reliance was on the People. He opened an office for the payment of the late Dictator's legacy to every one who claimed a share of it; and as these liberalities were ascribed to the deceased, and could not be made a charge of corruption against himself, he did not scruple to extend them beyond the letter of the will. He endeavoured at the same time to make it be believed, that by the oppressions of Antony, he was straitened for means to perform his duty in this respect to the People; recommended to his agents to hasten the sale of his own effects at any price, and continually brought new articles to the market in order to raise money ³⁶. Being introduced by one of the Tribunes, he delivered a harangue to the People, in which he declared his intention to exhibit shows and theatrical entertain-

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³⁴ Cic. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 11. Modo venit Octavius in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus.

³⁵ Ibid. lib. xii. ep. 15.

³⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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Although the Senators in general promoted the claims of Octavius, and considered him as a zealous confederate against Antony, who was the principal object of their fears, the conspirators saw in him the representative of their late enemy and the leader of Cæsar's army. They endeavoured to put their friends on their guard against him, and, by all means in their power, to counteract his popular arts. For this purpose the public entertainments, which were this year to have been given by Brutus in the quality of Prætor, were provided and exhibited in his absence with great splendor. These entertainments, from animosity to the family of Cæsar, rather than from a regard to Brutus, were conducted by C. Antonius, the brother of the present Consul, who presided in the place of his colleague the absent Prætor, and who was desirous on this occasion to divide with Octavius the popular favor even in behalf of Brutus, with whom he was not on good terms ³⁹.

As such entertainments were intended by the Roman officers to ingratiate themselves with the People, so the reception they met with was considered as an indication of their success or disappointment

³⁷ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 1.

³⁸ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 2.

³⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

in any object they had in view. On the present occasion the Tereus of Accius being brought on the stage, and every sentiment of liberty applicable to the times being greatly applauded, this was considered as an intimation of popular favor to the deliverers of their country, and to Brutus in particular, the giver of the feast. His friends thought this a favorable opportunity to make trial of their strength; and as the Roman People, still supposed to be the sovereigns of the world, were accustomed, like other despotical masters, to decide on the greatest affairs as matters of private passion, and in the midst of their pleasures, the aristocratical party raised a cry, that the restorers of public liberty should be recalled to their country⁴⁰. This cry was not returned by the audience, and the performance itself was stopped by the clamors of the opposite party, until the proposal now made in favor of the conspirators should be withdrawn.

Brutus and Cassius finding their party among the People so little able to support them, saw no security but in the possession of provinces which, in case of an open attack from their enemies, might supply them with money and arms for their defence. They determined, therefore, notwithstanding the late arrangements, by which they were superseded, to repair to the provinces of which the command had been originally intended for them; Cassius to Syria, and Brutus to Macedonia and Greece. They were encouraged in the pursuance of this resolution

⁴⁰ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 2.

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by the divisions and quarrels which arose in the opposite party ; observing that the adherents of the late Cæsar were ranged on different sides with Octavius or with Antony, and that the army itself, though extremely averse to disputes which tended to disturb their possession of the government, were likely to balance or hesitate in the choice of their leader, they left Italy with some hopes, that the republic might revive in the dissension of its enemies.

The officers whom Antony had assembled as a guard to his person, ventured to expostulate with him on a breach which was so likely to reduce their force, and they exhorted him to act in concert with Octavius, at least until they had obtained a just revenge against the assassins of Cæsar. On this occasion Antony entered into the reasons of his past conduct, and accounted for the concessions which he had made to the Senate, as necessary to obtain the conditions on which the present flourishing state of the party depended. He reminded his friends that it was by his means that Cæsar's acts had been ratified ; that it was by his means that, notwithstanding the late act of indemnity, the conspirators had been expelled from the city, and stripped of their provinces. For the future, he assured them, that being possessed of a proper force, he would appear undisguised, and give sufficient proof of his regard to Cæsar's memory, and to the interest of his surviving friends.

Antony, in compliance with the entreaties which were now made to him at this conference, had an

interview with Octavius; at which they were, in appearance, reconciled to each other; but their pretensions were far from being sufficiently adjusted to render the agreement of long continuance. Octavius aspired to a degree of consequence which Antony by no means thought necessary to admit in so young a person. His undoubted title to the inheritance of Cæsar, and the attachment of Cæsar's personal friends, made Antony consider his advancement as altogether incompatible with the success of his own designs. Effects of their jealousies and animosities accordingly soon after appeared, such as rendered an open breach again unavoidable.

A vacancy having happened in the college of Tribunes ⁴¹, Octavius, though far short of the legal age, was presented by his friends as a candidate for this station. Antony, without declaring himself openly against them, published an edict, threatening with prosecution any person who should make a proposition to the People contrary to law; and by these means prevented their farther proceeding in this design.

Soon after this act of authority, on the part of Antony, to check the ambition of the young Cæsar, men armed as for an assassination were discovered in the Consul's house. They were not brought to any public examination; but it was given out that they had been suborned by Octavius. Whether this plot was fabricated, in order to load him with the odium of it, and to justify the measures which

⁴¹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

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Antony himself meditated to take against a person supposed to have aimed at his life, or whether it was by Antony actually believed to be real, is uncertain. It occasioned a considerable ferment in the city, and the parties reasoned upon it as they were severally inclined. The friends of Antony persisted in accusing Octavius, and others recriminated, urging as a proof of Antony's design on the life of Cæsar, his having recourse in this manner to a forgery, which was evidently intended to exasperate the army and the people against his antagonist, and to justify the violence which he himself, with the first opportunity, meant to employ⁴². Cicero, however, says, that people of judgment believed the plot on the part of Octavius to have been real, and that they approved of it⁴³.

In the late interval of military usurpation, the Senators in general, though willing to resume the government, were actually unable to bear the load which it was likely to lay on their shoulders. They rejoiced at the breach between Octavius and Antony; but if these adventurers should continue to quarrel about the spoils of the commonwealth, the greater part of those who had any interest in defending it were no more than a prey to the conqueror. Clouds hung over their counsels on every side. The officers who had served under Cæsar in the late civil war, were posted at the head of armies in the most advantageous situations. Asinius Pollio

⁴² Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

⁴³ Cicero ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 23.

had the command in the further province of Spain, Lepidus in the nearer; Plancus commanded in Gaul, and Antony in Macedonia. The veterans remained in the neighbourhood of Rome with swords in their hands, anxious for the settlements which had been lately assigned to them by Cæsar. These they did not believe to be secure, without the destruction of every law and of every form which could be cited to favor the claims of the former proprietors.

Antony made rapid advances to the military usurpation he had some time projected. Having availed himself so far of his nomination to the government of Macedonia, as to get possession of the numerous and respectable army which Cæsar, on their way to the Parthian war, had transported thither, he proceeded to exchange that province for the Cisalpine Gaul; and, under pretence of expelling Decimus Brutus from thence, had ordered the army of Cæsar to be transported back into Italy. Soon after the detection of the supposed plot of Octavius he departed from Rome, and set out for Brundisium. The troops which he had ordered from Macedonia were already arrived at that place; and as he had intelligence that Octavius had his emissaries employed to seduce them, he hastened to prevent the effect of this design, and to secure his own authority. He professed to employ this army merely in gaining possession of the province which had lately been decreed to him by the People. But in the desire of occupying, with an army, that very station from which Cæsar had so

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successfully invaded the republic; and which, according to the expression of Cato on the nomination of Cæsar to that province, was in reality the citadel or commanding station, which gave possession of Rome, he sufficiently evinced the designs which he had formed against the republic, and no less alarmed the heir of Cæsar, who expected to be the first victim of his power, than it threatened the Senate with a new and dangerous usurpation.

Under these impressions, while Antony took the road to Brundisium, Octavius repaired to Campania, and, by large donations ⁴⁴ in money, engaged the veterans, who were settled at Calatia, Casilinum, and Capua, to declare for himself. With this powerful support, he published his intention to withstand the Consul, and took measures to procure the authority of the Senate against their common enemy. He professed great zeal for the cause of the republic, and affected to put himself entirely under the direction of Cicero, now the most respectable member of the Senate that was left. He entreated this experienced counsellor to favor him with an interview at Capua. "Once more," he said, in his letter upon this occasion, "save the republic." At their conference it was deliberated whether Octavius should throw himself into Capua with three hundred veterans who had joined him, and there stop Antony's march to Rome; or should cross the Apennines, to give the legions, who were marching from Brundisium, an

⁴⁴ Five hundred Denarii, i. e. about 16 l.

opportunity to execute the project of defection, which he believed they were meditating in his favor. In this question he affected to be determined entirely by Cicero, who advised him to move with all the force he could assemble towards Rome⁴⁵.

In compliance with this advice, Octavius having assembled ten thousand men, without waiting to array, or even to have them completely armed, advanced by hasty marches to prevent Antony, who about the same time had marched from Brundisium, and was hastening to advance in the same direction⁴⁶.

The city was thrown into a great alarm by this unexpected approach of two hostile armies. Some expressed their fears of Antony, others of Octavius, and some of both. It was uncertain whether they advanced in concert to oppress the republic, or in competition to contend for its spoils. Many appearances favored the latter supposition; and the late reconciliation gave some credit to the former.

Octavius, having the advantage of a shorter march, arrived before his antagonist; and being within two miles of the city, was received by Canutius, one of the Tribunes, whom he soon after sent back into the city, with assurances, that he had assembled his party not to second, but to oppose the designs of Antony; and that his purpose was to employ all the force he could raise for the defence of the commonwealth. The Tribune

⁴⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

⁴⁶ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 8.

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Canutius, in reporting what passed with Octavius, exhorted all who wished to preserve the republic to lend their assistance in execution of this design.

Upon these assurances, delivered by a Tribune of the People, the gates were thrown open to Octavius, and he entered the city, though not in a military form, yet followed by a numerous band of attendants, who concealed their weapons. With this company he took possession of the temple of Castor and Pollux, and prepared to explain himself to a numerous concourse of people, who were hastening into the area or court before the temple. Being introduced by the Tribune into this assembly, as a person who had matters of great moment to communicate respecting the state of the republic and the designs of Antony, he began his speech by commemorating the merits of his late adoptive father, and the ingratitude and injustice of Antony; declared, that although he had assembled his friends merely in his own defence, he was ready to employ them in the service of his country, and submitted himself entirely to such directions as he should receive from the powers established by law in the commonwealth; observed, that they could not possibly doubt of his inclination to be employed at least against his personal enemies.

It was probably in this speech, that Octavius, being to make a solemn asseveration, pointed to the statue of Julius Cæsar, with these words, "So may
" I arrive at my father's honors"! He had two

⁴⁷ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. xvi. c. 15.

opposite and irreconcilable parties to please on this occasion, and had not learned that the only safe course in such cases is silence. He offended the partisans of the republic by the veneration he expressed for Cæsar, and by his wish to tread in his steps; and in this, perhaps, committed the only public indiscretion with which he is chargeable in any part of his conduct. But what was in reality a more dangerous effect of this error, he offended the military part of his audience by the regard he affected to entertain for the civil government of the State, and by his open declaration of war against Antony. By this declaration, military men found themselves not invited to enter, as they expected, on the secure possession of the rewards and honors which had been promised to them; but called upon to fight for empire against their late fellow soldiers, commanded by an officer from whom they had high expectations as a friend, and much to fear as an enemy.

Soldiers of fortune being thus disappointed of the spoils which they expected to seize, and of the rewards which were now become due for former services, some of them absolutely renounced the party of Octavius; others, under pretence of providing arms and necessaries for the field, or pleading various excuses, desired leave to return to their own habitations. The greater part of the veterans actually withdrew: but Octavius, young as he was, did not sink under this untoward state of his affairs. He had ordered levies in Etruria, and in the district of Ravenna. These levies, upon the reputation of

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the ascendant he had gained in the city, succeeded apace, and induced military adventurers from every quarter to espouse his cause.

Many who had served under Julius Cæsar, being accustomed to the life of a soldier, though settled as landholders in Italy, were not yet rooted in the condition of citizens, or in that of husbandmen. They had yet fresh in their memories the licence and the spoils of war. They saw them offered anew under the auspices of a leader who bore the name of Cæsar, and whose munificence was known. Many, therefore, who had recently left Octavius, being unwilling that others should reap the harvest in which they themselves had been invited to partake, again repaired to his standard; and, as fast as they arrived, were sent to Etruria, into different quarters, to be armed, arrayed, and furnished with all necessaries for the field⁴⁸.

Octavius from thenceforward conducted himself between the parties with great address: to the veterans he talked of avenging Cæsar's death: to the friends of the republic he set forth the dangerous designs of Antony, affected to sacrifice all private resentment to his zeal for the commonwealth⁴⁹, even promoted the election of Casca into the college of Tribunes⁵⁰, and affected in all things to be governed by the Senate.

What hopes, in the mean time, could be formed

⁴⁸ Dio Cassius, lib. xlv. c. 12. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

⁴⁹ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 12.

⁵⁰ Ibid. lib. xvi. ep. 15.

for the State? Could Senators intrust the age or the intention of this crafty boy, nursed, as they observed, in the midst of usurpation; and who, by arming himself without any legal authority, had given evidence of an assuming and audacious spirit? They stood in awe of Antony, and were afraid to provoke him by an open declaration. Octavius did not yet appear to be in condition to cope with the Roman Consul; and if he were in condition to do so, would be likely to form designs equally dangerous to the commonwealth. Antony, with a numerous army, had all the authority of government in his hands. — The dispositions of Panfa and Hirtius, the Consuls named by Cæsar for the ensuing year, were yet unknown. — Although many things were transacted in name of the Senate, this order of men scarcely ventured to resume their ordinary functions, and shook under the rod which Cæsar had lifted over them, even while it hung in suspense between different divisions of his remaining party¹. Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, had ventured to oppose Antony. Cicero and Publius Servilius afterwards followed this example. “But all that we have gained,” said Cicero, “is no more than this, that the Roman People may perceive, that whoever contends for liberty is not safe at Rome.” These Senators, therefore, together with L. Cotta, L. Cæsar, and L. Sulpicius, had in despair, upon seeing Antony put him-

¹ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 5 and 6. Ibid. ad Dolabellam, 17.

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self at the head of an army, absented themselves from the public assemblies.

It was evident from every circumstance, that the fate of the empire was to be determined by the sword. The troops feeling their consequence, affected indifference to every interest but their own, and presumed to treat with equal contempt, in their turns, the different persons who assumed the command of them. Of the five legions which had been quartered in Macedonia, four were landed at Brundisium, when Antony arrived at that place. They turned out on his coming, but did not receive him with the usual acclamations and shouts. They closed in profound silence round the platform from which he was to speak, as having suspended their judgment, until they should know what gratuities they were to receive in reward of their services. When he mentioned four hundred sestertii, or between three and four pounds a man⁵². This being far short of the rewards that were expected for giving a new master to the commonwealth, he was answered with signs of derision. In return to this insolence, Antony assumed a tone which tended rather to exasperate than to overawe his audience. He reproached these legions with ingratitude for the favor he had recently done them, in changing their destination from Parthia to the Cisalpine Gaul; and with treachery, in having suffered to remain among them the emissaries, whom he knew that a presumptuous boy had employed to debauch them from their duty. "These,

⁵² Dio Cass. lib. xiv. c. 13. or according to Appian.
100=0168.

he said, " shall not escape me; in the mean time
 " prepare yourselves to march into the province
 " which is allotted for your station."

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 II.

Antony, while he yet continued to speak, had the mortification to see entire cohorts, with their officers, withdraw from his presence, uttering words of contempt and of scorn. Seeing the desertion likely to become general⁵³, and being greatly provoked, he dismissed the audience, sentenced three hundred officers and private men to immediate death, and stood by while they perished under the hands of the executioners. Fulvia, who had attended him in his journey to Brundisium, is said to have been present likewise at this scene, and to have satiated her revenge of the insults offered to her husband, with so near a view of the executions, as to have her clothes stained with blood⁵⁴.

The offence that was taken at these cruelties gave ample encouragement to the agents of Octavius, who, notwithstanding the threats of Antony, still continued to negotiate in the quarters of his army. Papers were dropt and handed about, containing a contrast of Antony's parsimony with the liberality of Octavius. A search was made for the authors of these libels; but the bad success with which it was attended, served only to show the general disaffection of the army. The accounts, at the same time, which were brought of the progress which Octavius made in the settlements of the

⁵³ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 8.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Philip. iii. c. 1 and 4.

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veterans, and of his reception at Rome, gave Antony a just sense of his danger, and made him change his tone. In a second address to the army, he made an apology for his late severities. They knew, he said, his character, that it was neither forbidding nor severe; that the sums he had mentioned were no more than a present to signalize their meeting, and an earnest of his future munificence. He did not, however, at this time, make any addition to his former bounty, lest it should appear to be extorted from him by fear.

The soldiers, in appearance satisfied with these declarations, accepted with respect the sum which had been offered to them; submitted to the changes which had been made among their officers, and marched off in divisions by the coast of the Adriatic towards Ariminum. Antony himself, with an escort of cavalry and infantry, composed of men the bravest and most attached to his person, whom he had selected from the whole army, set out for Rome. At his arrival the horse were quartered in the suburbs; he himself, attended by a body of foot, entered the city, had a regular guard mounted in the court of his own house, ordered centinels to be posted, gave the parole, and made every disposition to prevent surprise, as in a military station. Being still vested with the office of Consul, he summoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-fourth of September; and, in the proclamation or summons, declared, that if any Senator absented himself on that day, he should be deemed an accessory to the plot against the Consul's life, which had been lately

discovered, and an accomplice in the other wicked designs known to be in agitation against the re-
public. C H A P.
II.

Notwithstanding this pompous threat, Antony himself did not attend at the time appointed; but, by another proclamation, he again summoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-eighth of the same month. He intended, on this day, to obtain a decree against Octavius; whom, in all his manifestos, he qualified with the name of Spartacus; as having, without any legal authority, presumed to levy war against the State⁵⁵; but, as he entered the porch of the Senate-house, a messenger arrived with accounts that the Legio Martia had deserted with its colors to Octavius. Before he had recovered this shock, another messenger came with a like account of the fourth legion. He entered the Senate, but very much disconcerted, and unprepared to act in circumstances so different from those with which he laid his account. He avoided the mention of Octavius; and pretending to have called the assembly, without any particular business, he made a short speech and adjourned. From this meeting, hearing that one of the revolted legions had taken post at Alba, he instantly repaired to that place, in hopes of reclaiming them; but was received with a discharge of arrows and stones from the battlements, and obliged to retire. Fearing that the remainder of the army would follow this example, he ordered them an additional gratuity

⁵⁵ Cicer. Philip. iii. c. 8.

BOOK of five hundred sestertii, or about four pounds a
V. man. And, to give them an immediate prospect of action, which is often the most effectual means of stifling dangerous humors in an army, he declared his intention to make war on Decimus Brutus, in order to dislodge him from the province of Gaul. In pursuance of this intention, he ordered his equipage for the field, and set up his standard at Tibur, to which place he expected that all his friends and adherents would repair.

Antony, being joined by the last of the troops from Macedonia, had still three legions belonging to that army; and these, together with the veterans settled in the neighbourhood of Tibur, who came with their ensigns and colors to offer their services, amounted in all to four legions, besides the ordinary attendance of irregular troops, and the crowds of people that flocked to his standard. With this formidable power, having for a few days overawed the city, and drawn around him the greatest part of the Senate, and of the Equestrian order, with many of the people who had so lately declared for his rival, and who, in the contests of such parties, ever yield to the present power, and are the property of him who can best work on their fears; he set out on his march to Ariminum, the last place of Italy on the frontier of Gaul.

Octavius at the same time had assembled his forces at Alba, consisting of the two legions who had lately come over to him from Antony, one legion of new levies, together with two of the veterans lately embodied, which, not being full, were

completed with the choice of his new-raised men. CHAP.
II.
He made a report to the Senate of the number and description of the troops he had thus assembled, and received their thanks and congratulations. It is nevertheless probable, that his services were received by this body with great distrust of their own situation, and of his designs.

Had the Senate been free to choose on whose swords they were to rely for the defence of their cause, those of Cassius and Brutus, with the other conspirators, originally drawn in behalf of the republic, must have appeared the preferable choice. Uncertain, however, of the effect of any direct or public resolution in favor of those who were the authors of Cæsar's death, they left the correspondence to be maintained with them to private persons; and Senators accordingly wrote in their private capacity, to recommend perseverance and the utmost exertion of their zeal. "Such is the state of the republic," says Cicero to Cassius; "even in the calmest times, scarcely able to support itself. What must it be in the present storm? All our hopes are in you. But if you have withdrawn yourselves merely for your own safety, we cannot have hopes, not even in you. If you intend any thing worthy of your own character, I wish I may live to see the effect. The republic, at any rate, must revive under your efforts." He adjured Decimus Brutus, by the example of Octavius, who, though in a private

"Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 2.

BOOK station, raised armies for the State; he adjured him
V. by the example of the faithful legions who deserted from Antony, to stand by the commonwealth; and in the present crisis to exert himself to the utmost, without waiting for the orders of the Senate⁵⁷.

Cicero had already proclaimed his animosity to Antony, and, besides his zeal for the republic, had a particular interest in abetting any party that was formed against this dangerous enemy. Hearing that he was gone from the city, and that all the forces in its neighbourhood had declared for Octavius, or for the Senate, he himself ventured, on the ninth of December, to return to Rome⁵⁸, and proposed in the Senate that they should decide on the plan they were to follow in this arduous state of their affairs.

⁵⁷ Cic. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 7.

⁵⁸ Ibid. ep. 5.

C H A P. III.

Situation and Address of Octavius. — Meeting of the Senate. — Progress of Antony. — His March into Gaul. — Message of Octavius to Decimus Brutus. — New Consuls Hirtius and Pansa. — Meeting of the Senate. — Deputation to Antony. — His answer. — Declared an Enemy. — Advance of Hirtius and Octavius to raise the Siege of Mutina. — Brutus and Cassius confirmed in the Command of all the Eastern Provinces. — Progress of the War in Gaul. — Siege of Mutina raised. — Junction of Antony and Lepidus. — Consulate of Octavius.

WHEN Antony left Rome to take possession of the Cisalpine Gaul, Octavius was in arms at the gates of the city, and, though a mere youth under age, was furnished with every art which age itself could bestow, to qualify him for the part he was to act. He had gained upon the army by donations and promises; upon the Senate by public professions of duty and of zeal for the republic; and, on particular members, by attention and flattery. The legions, which had lately come over to him from Antony, having exhibited a mock fight, he ordered them, on that occasion, a special gratuity of five hundred sestertii, or four pounds a man; saying, That as this was but the representation

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of a battle, the reward was proportional ; but if he should ever have occasion to employ them in real fights, they should have as many thousands ¹. In this situation, it became necessary for the Senate, either to authorize and to avail themselves of this ultroneous support ; or, by refusing it, to drive the veterans, and all the military party which still revered the name of Cæsar, into measures immediately fatal to the republic.

Upon the march of Antony towards Gaul, Octavius had already sent a message to Decimus Brutus ² with assurance of his aid in defending that province, and of his co-operation every where else in supporting the authority of the Senate. Hitherto men stood in awe of Antony, as being vested with the authority of Consul, and threatening to treat his opponents as rebels to the commonwealth. Even Hirtius and Panfa, destined to succeed him in the Consulship, it was supposed, would scarcely venture to take possession of the office without his consent, and the usual form of his abdication ; but the prospect of a vigorous support from Octavius, relieved many from their fears of Antony, and determined them on the part they were to act.

The Senate, under pretence of taking measures that the succeeding Consuls might enter on their office in safety, being assembled by one of the Tribunes on the nineteenth of December, a manifesto was produced from Decimus Brutus, of which no

¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

² Dio Cass. lib. xiv. c. 15.

copy remains, but probably stating his right to the province of Gaul, and representing the injustice of Antony in attempting to dislodge him by force. Octavius was at the same time introduced by the Tribune, and pronounced a panegyric on Brutus¹. Cicero, in a speech which is still extant, extolled the conduct of the young Cæsar in arming the veterans, as a generous effort made at the hazard of his own life, and of his private fortune, to defend the republic. He applauded the two legions who had lately deserted from Antony; and warmly urged the Senate to support Decimus Brutus in his province. He moved, that thanks should be given to these officers, and to the troops who adhered to them; and that the Consuls, on the first of January, should move the Senate farther to consider of the rewards that were due to the army, for the faithful services which they had rendered to the commonwealth. These public propositions he blended with a continual and vehement invective against Antony². He obtained decrees of the Senate to the several effects he had proposed; and having carried those decrees to the Comitia or assembly of the People for their approbation, there likewise he supported them with a repetition of the same topics, and with the usual force of his eloquence³.

In the mean time, Antony, being arrived on the

¹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 6. Idem, Philip. iii. c. 5.

² Cicer. Philip. ii.

³ Id. Philip. iv.

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frontier of Gaul, dispatched an officer to Decimus Brutus, with a copy of his own commission from the Roman People, and with an order to evacuate the province. To this message he had for answer, that Decimus Brutus held his command by authority of the Roman Senate, who alone, by the laws, were entitled to dispose of the provinces; and that he would not surrender what the laws of his country had enjoined him to defend. Antony, after having to no purpose exchanged repeated messages on this subject, continued his march into the province, and forced Brutus, with two legions and some new levies, that were under his command, to throw himself into Mutina, where he had formed some magazines from the stores and provisions he was able to collect in the neighbourhood, and where he proposed to wait for the succours which he was made to expect from Rome. Antony advanced to Bononia and Claterna, took possession of these places, and having invested Mutina, began to besiege it in form.

U. C. 710.
C. Vibius.
Pansa, C.
Hirtius, both
killed.
Octavius
succeeded
Pansa. Up-
on his resig-
nation, C.
Carinus suc-
ceeded Oc-
tavius. Q.

Such was the posture of affairs in the end of December, about ten months after the death of Cæsar⁶. On the first of January, the Consuls Pansa and Hirtius, being to enter on the exercise of their office, proceeded to the Senate from the temple, where they had offered the usual sacrifices; and agreeably to the order of the nineteenth of December, moved this assembly, to take under consideration the present state of the republic⁷.

⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.
⁷ Ibid. lib. iii.

Pansa having stated the subject, called upon his father-in-law, Q. Fufius Calenus to deliver his opinion. This Senator being disposed to favor Antony, advised, that they should not, rashly, take any violent resolution; that they should send a deputation to the late Consul, with instructions from the Senate to lay down his arms, and to return to his duty. This motion was vehemently opposed by Cicero, who, in a speech still extant^{*}, insisted that Antony was already in effect declared an enemy, and ought to be reduced by force, not gained by negociation and treaty. He recounted the violences committed by him in his late Consulate, particularly the acts which he promulgated under the pretence of Cæsar's memorials and will. "From the foundation of Rome to this present hour," he said, "Antony alone has had the impudence to present himself in this assembly, escorted by a military force. The kings never attempted it. The boldest adventurers, and they who were most forward to revive the kingly power, never ventured so far. I remember Cinna; I have seen Sylla; and, last of all, Cæsar. These were the persons, who, since the expulsion of Tarquin, made the greatest advances to kingly power. I do not say that they were unattended in the Senate, or that their retinue were always unarmed; they were followed only by a few, and with concealed weapons. But this daring assassin paraded in the streets with a military power, moving in

CHAPTER
III.

Pedius succeeded Hir-
tius. Ven-
tidius suc-
ceeded Pe-
dus, who
died in of-
fice.

^{*} Cicer. Philip. v.

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“ cohorts under arms, with all the form of a regular march. He posted a body of archers with their quivers full, and even chests of spare arrows for immediate and continued action, on the very steps by which Senators were to ascend into the temple of Concord; you have ordered public thanks to the troops that have drawn their swords against him; you have extolled the generous magnanimity of a young man, who, without waiting for your commission, brought a hasty power to cover the city from his violence; and are you now deliberating, whether you are to soothe his fury with negotiation, or to meet it with force? If you send deputies to his camp, no matter with what message, you will appear to surrender; you will appear to distrust your own cause; you will damp the ardor of your own troops; and you will shake the faith of the provinces.”

Such was the purport of Cicero's speech respecting the conduct of Antony, the merits of Decimus Brutus, of Lepidus, of Octavius, of the legions, and of the veterans; and of L. Egnatuleius the Tribune, who led the Legio Martia in the late choice of their party. In the close of the speech, he moved, That suitable honors should be decreed to each; that the Senate should ratify all the proceedings of Brutus in defending the province of Gaul; that Lepidus should have a statue erected to him; that Octavius should have the rank of

Proprætor, be confirmed in his present command, and be entitled to sue for the offices of state before the legal age; that three years of the age appointed by law, should be dispensed with in behalf of Eg-
natuleius; that the veterans, who had taken arms under Octavius, and the legions, who had deserted from Antony to join the standard of the common-
wealth, should have the gratuities that were pro-
mised to them by Octavius; and at the end of the present war should have grants of land, and a per-
petual exemption to themselves and their children from every military service. In his encomium on Brutus, he insinuated the praise that was due to him, as a partner in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but, not to offend the partisans of Octavius, declined entering fully on that subject. He pledged himself for the future behaviour of Octavius, "This ad-
"mirable young man," he said, "having once
"tasted of true glory, having found himself held
"forth by the Senate, by the People, and by all
"orders of men as a citizen dear to his country,
"and as the guardian of the commonwealth, never
"can place any other species of distinction or ho-
"nor in competition with this. If Julius Cæsar
"had found himself, at so early a period of life, in
"such an illustrious point of view, he never would
"have sought for preferment by courting the po-
"pulace, nor have betaken himself to measures
"incompatible with the safety of his country. The
"mind of this young man is perfectly known to
"me. Love of the republic, respect to the Senate,
"deference to good men, the desire of real glory,

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“ are his ruling passions. I will therefore venture
 “ to pledge my honor in the most positive assur-
 “ ances to you, to the Roman People, and to the
 “ commonwealth. I promise, I undertake, I en-
 “ gage that C. Cæsar will continue towards the re-
 “ public this conduct which he now holds, and
 “ that he will always be what you wish, and
 “ what you would choose that he should be.”

Octavius, we may suppose, had in some measure blinded Cicero with his flattery; yet in this panegyric there was probably more of what the orator wished to recommend to Octavius, than of what he believed to be his original intention; but this designing young man was not to be caught in such snares. He knew too well how to retort these artifices, even at an age, when others scarcely knew that such arts are practised; and the experienced Cicero, with all the penetration and wit for which he was eminent, was the dupe of a youth who possessed the deepest of all artifices, that of suffering himself in appearance to be deceived, while in reality he employed the cunning of others to his own purpose¹.

L. Piso, with a considerable party in the Senate, inclined to moderate the resolutions that were proposed against Antony. He contended that no Roman citizen could be condemned unheard; that the Senate could do no more than appoint him a day of trial, and cite him to answer for himself. The time of the first meeting being already spent

¹ Cicer. Philip. v.

in this debate, the Senate adjourned; and the subject being resumed on the following day, it is said ¹¹ that Fufius Calenus, with a torrent of abuse and reproach, retorted on Cicero the invective which, on the preceding day, he had pronounced against Antony. He reproached him with the obscurity of his birth, and accused him of a presumption, which was supported only by a talent for declamation, often employed by him against the best citizens, never in bringing real criminals of state to punishment. "What have you done," he said, accosting Cicero, "either at home or abroad, to merit the high degree of consideration to which you lay claim? In what war have we ever prevailed under your auspices? What accession of territory have you ever gained to the Roman State? Even in respect to your boasted talent for speaking, you do but impose upon the world the labors of retirement for the prompt effusions of eloquence; and you publish harangues, which you had neither the invention to conceive, nor the courage to deliver in the face of any public assembly, or in the midst of any real affairs." He accused Cicero of having forced Cataline into rebellion, and of having put to death, without any trial, Cornelius Lentulus, and other Roman citizens of rank; of having lighted the fire of dissension among the leaders of the present unhappy divisions that continued to tear the republic, and of having blown up the flames which still continued to consume the

¹¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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state; of having meanly abandoned the cause of Pompey upon his defeat at Pharsalia, and of having instigated assassins to take away the life of Cæsar, even after he himself had implored his mercy, and accepted of his protection. He reproached him with a fresh instance of ingratitude, in this attempt to turn the arms of the republic against the late Consul, to whose clemency he himself was indebted for his life. Having mixed this invective with the defence, and even with the praises of Antony, he concluded with calling upon the Senate to consider how absurd it would be to declare war upon a magistrate, who acted by commission from the Roman People, at the head of an army, of which they had given him the command, and in the very province which they had committed to his government; and this merely in support of a young man who had presumed, without any public authority, to levy war against a Roman officer of the highest rank, and in favor of a rebel who had presumed forcibly to retain a province, which the Roman People had ordered him to surrender. "Such men," he said, "were indeed the enemies of the republic; but he did not move for any formal declaration against them. The times," he observed, "will not suffer us to do all that ought to be done." He moved only that messengers should be instantly dispatched to all the parties at war in this unfortunate contest; that all of them should be required to lay down their arms, and to submit to the decisions of the Senate; that if any one of them should disobey, it would then be full time to declare him a

public enemy, and to give to the Consuls the usual and regular powers to guard the safety of the commonwealth, and to reduce disorderly subjects to their duty ¹².

Such are the abuses of an admired art, as vile and odious in its falsehoods, as in the genuine effusions of truth it is noble and respectable; and this speech compared with some of the former, which were delivered relating to the same persons, may serve to exhibit the variety of colors with which the same subjects and characters may be covered in debate, and by which public assemblies may be perplexed in their councils. The majority of the Senate were aware however of Antony's designs, and knew the danger of suffering him to get a military establishment, and the possession of a formidable army within the Alps; and they would probably have come to a severe resolution, if one of the Tribunes had not interposed for that day, and forbid their proceeding any farther on the subject.

The Senate was again adjourned until the next morning, and in the mean time the relations and family of Antony, his mother, his wife, his children, and intimate friends went into mourning, passed the night in visiting the principal members, or in waiting for the People, as they passed in the streets, to implore their protection. When the Senate was about to assemble, this company of suppliants took their station on the steps of the temple, and embraced the knees of the members as they passed.

¹² Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 18. lib. xlvi. c. 28.

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This solemn council, when met, on coming to the question, took, as is common on such occasions, a middle course between the extremes which were pointed out to them. They so far treated Antony as a friend, as to order a deputation of their own members to attend him in his camp; but the message which they sent by this deputation, founded more like a declaration of war, than an overture of reconciliation or of a peace¹³. They commanded him¹⁴ not to disturb in his government Decimus Brutus, whom they qualified with the appellation of Consul-elect; not to lay siege to Mutina; not to lay waste the province; not to make any levies of forces, or to presume to continue in arms against the authority of the Senate.

L. Piso, Philippus, and Servius Sulpicius, being deputed to carry these orders, had farther in charge to signify to Decimus Brutus, and to the troops under his command, the entire approbation of the Senate, and the high esteem and honor in¹⁵ which they were held on account of their conduct. The Senate at the same time entered, on their own records, the honorary decrees which had been passed in favor of Decimus Brutus, Octavius, Egnatuleius, and the army, in terms that had been proposed by Cicero; and resolved, that the gratuities already paid by Octavius to the veterans, and to the legions

¹³ Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 24.

¹⁴ Decimus Brutus was already destined to succeed in the Consulate of the following year.

¹⁵ Cicer. Philip. vi.

who had lately come over from Antony, should be refunded from the treasury; that lands should be allotted, and a continual exemption be given to them from all military service after the present war. C H A P. 111.

When the deputies were gone with the message which they had received from the Senate, the party of Antony at Rome endeavoured to alarm the People, and to load his enemies with all the consequences that were likely to follow from the late resolutions. They extolled the happy effects of moderation and peace, observed that Antony was a person of a daring and impetuous spirit, and ought not to have been incensed; that his party was strong; and in case of a rupture, would be joined by numbers of profligate men, for whom no attempt was too arduous, and against whom the friends of the republic could not be too much on their guard¹⁶.

While men were amused with such discourses at Rome, Servius Sulpicius, one of the three deputies on whom the Senate chiefly relied for the effect of their commission, died on the journey. The other two were kindly received by Antony, and admitted without any jealousy or distrust to visit the approaches he had made, and the works he had erected, against the town of Mutina.

While the siege was continued without interruption, the commissioners were received with affected submission to the orders of the Senate; were

¹⁶ Cicer. Philip. vii.

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B O O K told that Antony would evacuate the province, dis-
V. band his army, and return to a private station; that he would forget the past, and agree to a sincere reconciliation, provided that the legions then under his command, that his cavalry and his guards were properly rewarded and accommodated with grants of land, and put upon the same footing in all these respects with the troops of Octavius; provided that the arrangement of the provinces, which he had made in conjunction with Dolabella, should be confirmed; that the acts taken from the will and memoirs of his late colleague should be ratified; that no account should be required of the money which he had taken from the temple of Ops; that the Septemviri, or commissioners of the treasury, should not suffer for what they had done in delivering it into his hands; that a general indemnity should pass in favor of all his adherents; that his act relating to judicatures should not be repealed; that upon these conditions he would evacuate the Gallia Togata¹⁷, but retain the Comata¹⁸, with six legions, to be completed with draughts from the troops now under Decimus Brutus; that he should have this force as long as Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius should remain under arms; and that, at any rate, he should retain his division of the province for five years.

In this plan of accommodation, Antony endeavoured to frustrate the principal articles, by means of the conditions which he took care to subjoin:

¹⁷ Within the Alps.

¹⁸ Beyond the Alps.

and, in order entirely to defeat the purpose of his antagonists, he sent to Rome, in the company of the deputies of the Senate, his Quæstor, of the name of Cotyla, with orders to solicit his interest, and to intrigue with the Senators and principal citizens¹⁹. Complaining of the ascendant his enemies had gained in the Senate, “With what countenance,” he said, “can they arraign the administration of Cæsar, while they submit to that of Cicero? If they alledge that Cæsar was an usurper, what is this Cicero, who pretends to dictate to the Roman Senate, and to suspend the orders of the Roman People? Let him know that I claim the province of Gaul, in consequence of an appointment from the highest authority in the State, and he may be assured that I shall treat Decimus Brutus as a rebel, if he persist in withholding it from me. The life of this traitor shall atone for that noble blood which he shed in the Senate-House, and shall expiate that guilt in which Cicero is fast involving the Senate itself²⁰.”

Antony, in this commission to his Quæstor, and in his public declarations; joined with the insolence of the matter, affected expressions of submission to the Senate; and made a variety of proposals, either to gain time, or to curry favor with the army, whose interest he pretended to have greatly at heart. The deputies who had been employed on this unsuccessful business, incurred much public

¹⁹ Cicer. Philip. viii.

²⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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censure. It was unworthy of L. Piso, and of L. Philippus, it was said, to hold any intercourse with a rebel, who refused to comply with the orders that were sent to him ²¹. Under this sense of the matter, at a meeting of the Senate, it was moved, that war should be declared against Antony, and that every Senator should assume the military habit. This motion was agreed to, even by Lucius Cæsar, uncle to Antony; a decree was framed upon it, and passed without opposition, by which the army under his command, were required by a certain day to lay down their arms ²².

Upon this resolution, obtained by those who strove for the preservation of the commonwealth, great rejoicings were made over all Italy, and it did not then appear from whence any real danger could arise to the authority of laws, which were so properly supported. The Consuls, it was observed, acted with great vigor; the Senate, the middling class, and the citizens in general, expressed great zeal ²³. The People crowded to have their names enrolled in the levies that were ordered ²⁴. The reputation which Cicero gained in bringing public affairs into this situation, set him at the head of the commonwealth; but while it placed the whole administration of the state in his hands, it made him an object of great animosity to the opposite party,

²¹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 4.

²² Dio Cass. lib. xlvi. c. 29, 30. Cicer. Philip. viii.

²³ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 4.

²⁴ Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 8.

and of some envy to many persons of principal consideration in his own. It was under the impresson of these circumstances, he complained that Senators of the first rank were lukewarm, were timid, or ill affected to the cause of the republic ²⁵.

The conduct of the war was committed to the Consuls, and, jointly with them, to Octavius, in the capacity of Proprætor. Orders were likewise dispatched to Lepidus and to Plancus to co-operate with these officers. The first was yet on his march into Spain, through the province of Narbonne; the other was posted on the Rhone ²⁶. The treasury being so much exhausted by the late embez- zlements, that there was not money sufficient for the immediate service, it was agreed that all citizens should pay the five-and-twentieth part of all their effects; that the Senators should pay, over and above, a certain rate for all the houses or tenements they either possessed or let to tenants, and that in aid of these supplies, requisitions of money and of arms should be made through all the towns of Italy.

In the mean time, Octavius, without waiting for the authority with which the Senate had lately invested him, had followed Antony across the Apennines, and took post with his army at the Forum Cornelii ²⁷, on the road from Ariminum ²⁸ to

²⁵ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 8.

²⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xlvi. c. 39.

²⁷ Imola.

²⁸ Rimini.

B O O K V. Mutina ²⁹. The messages which passed between the Senate and Antony, as well as the delays which the Consuls, under the pretence of winter, made in advancing with their forces, gave him some degree of uneasiness. Panfa was employed at Rome in conducting the new levies. Hirtius, though destined to take the field, and to join Octavius, was still detained by indisposition ³⁰. Antony continued the siege of Mutina without interruption.

Octavius, after having sent many pressing messages to hasten the march of the Consul, was at last joined by him at the Forum Cornelii, and they advanced together; forced the posts which Antony had established at Claterna and Bononia, and encamped at the latter of these places ³¹. Here they were still separated by the Rhenus and Lavinius from the army of Antony, which covered the siege of Mutina, and were precluded from any communication with the town. They endeavoured, however, to give notice of their approach to the besieged; and for this purpose, the country being flat, they hoisted lights on the highest trees; but not relying entirely on these signals, they employed a dexterous swimmer, who undertook to pass into the town by the channel of the river, and to carry the intelligence of their arrival engraved on a plate of metal.

Upon this information, Brutus was confirmed in

²⁹ Now Modena.

³⁰ Dio Cass. lib. xlvi. c. 35, 36.

³¹ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 5.

his resolution of defending the place to the last extremity, and prevailed on the garrison, under the hopes of a speedy relief, to persevere in the toils and dangers of their present service ³².

The Senate, notwithstanding that they considered the preservation of the republic as the common cause of all those who could hope to partake in its honors, and believed that the present Consuls, Hirtius and Panfa, were sincerely embarked in its cause; and notwithstanding the confidence they placed in Octavius as opposed to Antony, they still relied chiefly on those who had taken an active part against the late usurpation of Cæsar and looked to Brutus and Cassius for a principal support against the remains of that military faction. On this account, they had annulled the proceedings of Antony relating to the distribution of the eastern provinces, reinstated Marcus Brutus in the government of Macedonia, and Cassius in that of Syria; and, by these appointments, placed the whole resources of the commonwealth, from the Hadriatic to the utmost boundary of the empire, under their authority ³³.

Marcus Brutus and Cassius had left Italy in the preceding Autumn. Brutus had passed through Lucania. Thither Porcia accompanied him, with the melancholy prospect of parting, perhaps for ever. While she endeavoured to conceal her grief, she was betrayed into tears by the sight of a pic-

³² Dio Cass. lib. xlvi. c. 35, 36.

³³ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii.

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ture, which represented the parting of Hector and Andromaché. One of the company, without observing the distress which Porcia seemed to feel, repeated from Homer the lines from which this picture was taken. *My father, my brother, and my husband are, Hector, all in thee*³⁴. "But I cannot reply," said Brutus, "in the words of Hector, *go to thy maids, and mind thy loom*; for although Porcia is deficient in strength of body, in her mind she is formed to great affairs"³⁵.

Brutus, having embarked at Elea, sailed into Greece, where he was received with every mark of respect. Here he seemed to devote himself entirely to study; but had his agents employed to provide what was necessary against the storm, which he had reason to expect. He sent Herostratus into Macedonia to sound the disposition of the troops in that province, and drew about himself all the young Romans who were then at Athens, attending the different schools, which still supported the reputation of that place.

While Brutus remained in Greece, a body of troops, under the command of an officer, named Apuleius³⁶, with a sum of money amounting to sixteen thousand talents, collected from the reve-

³⁴ "Εκτορ, ὅτε σὺ μοι ἐστὶ πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,

Ἦδε καί γυνήτος. ——— Iliad. lib. vi. v. 429.

³⁵ For these particulars, Plutarch quotes young Bibulus, the son of Porcia by a former husband, who was present. Plutarch in Bruto.

³⁶ Cic. Philip. xiii.

nue of Asia, were delivered up to him. The troops who had served lately under Vatinius in Illyricum, being then at Dyrrachium, deserted from their commander to join him³⁷. Those under Caius Antonius, at Apollonia, followed this example. Part of Dolabella's forces, who were marching under Cinna into Asia, likewise left their party to join that of the republic³⁸. As Brutus was considered in Macedonia and Thessaly as reviving the party of Pompey, many who had served under that leader, and were yet dispersed in those parts, flocked to his standard, so that the new levies he had ordered, were soon completed to the amount of four legions and five hundred horse. A great convoy, with spare arms, which Cæsar had provided for the Parthian war, and which, by the order of Antony, were then to be again returned into Italy, were intercepted by him at Demetrias. Upon the order of the Senate to put him in possession of Macedonia, the greater part of the province, then under the command of Hortensius, acknowledged his authority. At his departure from Athens, many of the young Roman nobility made a part of his retinue, and among these, the son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, who, though with a genius for letters inferior to that of his father, became nevertheless distinguished as a soldier in the course of the war³⁹.

³⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 27.

³⁸ Plutarch, in Bruto.

³⁹ Ibid.

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Cassius, at the same time, had gone with the utmost dispatch into Syria, to prevent Dolabella, who was sent by the opposite party to take possession of that province. He had received some supplies of men and of money from Trebonius, then commanding at Smyrna, and prevailed with part of the cavalry of Dolabella, on their march through the province of Asia, to abandon their leader. With these forces, he advanced into Cilicia, reduced the city of Tarsus, and continued his march, with a respectable appearance, into his intended province.

At the arrival of Cassius, the forces of Syria were divided, and the opposite parties had actually committed hostilities against each other. The troops which had been stationed there by Julius Cæsar, had even, before his death, mutinied, and had put Sextus Julius, a young man who commanded them, to death. They submitted themselves to the command of Cæcilius Bassus, one of Pompey's officers, who, having escaped from Pharsalia, then lay at Tyre, and in this change of their leader, declared for the party of the republic. They defeated Statius Murcus, whom Cæsar had ordered, with three legions, to reduce them, and made it necessary to bring against them a reinforcement of three legions more from Bithynia, under Marcus Crispus. This officer had accordingly brought these forces, and was actually engaged in the siege of Apamea, to which Bassus had retired when Cassius arrived in Syria.

There were now in this province, engaged on opposite sides, no less than eight legions. Upon

the arrival of Cassius, the two legions under Bassus declared for him; and soon after the other six, moved by the authority of his commission from the Senate, or gained by his personal character and address, followed this example. Four more legions, who, intending to join Dolabella, were marching from Egypt through Palestine⁴⁰, were intercepted, and forced to receive his orders as governor of Syria. His army, by these different accessions, amounted to twelve legions.

Upon the first suspicion that Brutus and Cassius intended to possess themselves of these important provinces, Dolabella, to whom, by the influence of Antony, the command in Syria had been assigned, set out from Rome, and with all possible diligence joined some troops that were placed to receive him on the side of Macedonia, passed the Hellespont, and continued his route to the east. In passing through the province of Asia, he had an interview at Smyrna with Trebonius, professed a friendship for him, affected great respect for his associates in the conspiracy against Cæsar, and a zeal for the restoration of the commonwealth. After this conference with the governor of the province, he put his army in motion with the most pacific appearances on the route to Ephesus; and having by these means put Trebonius off his guard, he returned in the night, surprised the city of Smyrna, seized on the person of the governor, and, with many insults, put him to the torture⁴¹, con-

⁴⁰ Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 26, 27, 28.

⁴¹ Ibid. lib. xlvii. c. 29.

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tinuing him under it for some days, in order to extort a discovery of the treasure which he supposed to be hid in some repository of the province; but on the third day, Dolabella having fatiated his mind with these cruelties, gave orders that Trebonius should be strangled, his head severed from the body, and exposed on the point of a spear, while the limbs were dragged through the streets.

This murder, being committed on the person of a Roman officer, within the very province in which he was appointed to command, raised a general indignation. Dolabella was declared a public enemy by the Senate. The conduct of the war against him was committed to Caius Cassius, who was now at the head of the armies in Syria, and who, together with Marcus Brutus, was authorized by formal decrees to retain all the forces they had assembled, and all the resources of which they were possessed, and to employ them according to their own judgment, where the service of the republic seemed most to require their exertions ⁴².

Thus the flames of war, which were already lighted in Italy, began to extend, and were soon communicated to every part of the empire. The opposite armies before Mutina continued during the winter to observe each other, and in their attempts to give or to withhold relief from the besieged, had frequent skirmishes and partial engagements. The chief direction of affairs at Rome, in the mean time, had devolved on Cicero, who

⁴² Cicer. Phil. xi.

incited the Senate and the People, with all the powers of his eloquence, against Antony. The soldiers in general, with their officers, were notwithstanding inclined to favor this declared enemy of the commonwealth, Ventidius in particular, who professed to range himself under Octavius, was in reality warmly attached to his rival; and, in order to serve him, formed a design to surprise Cicero, and the other heads of the republican party. For this purpose, he assembled a body of veterans in the neighbourhood of Rome, and advanced towards the city; but his design being suspected, and the persons against whom it was directed having taken the alarm, and withdrawn to places of safety, he turned away to the Picenum, and there waited the issue of the campaign ⁴³.

The Senate, during the dependance of these operations, as in full possession of the republic, devised laws, to prevent for the future those abuses which had given rise to the present disorders. They resolved, that no extraordinary commission of any kind should be given to any single person, or any provincial appointment prolonged beyond a year ⁴⁴. While they were thus employed, separate addresses were presented to them from Lepidus and from Plancus, warmly recommending an accommodation with Antony ⁴⁵. Cicero made his observations on this conduct, in a letter to Plancus of the

⁴³ Cicer. Philip. xii. Ibid. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 16.

⁴⁴ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 39.

⁴⁵ Cicer. Philip. xii.

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thirteenth of the calends of April, or twentieth of March; but he delivers himself to Lepidus on the same subject with more warmth, alluding to some recent honors which had been received by this officer, and for which he neglected to make the proper acknowledgments. "I am glad," he said, "that you wish to reconcile your fellow-citizens to each other. If you could procure them peace without slavery, you would perform a most acceptable service to your country, and acquire much honor to yourself; but if, under the title of peace, we are again to become the slaves of a profligate villain, be assured that every man in his senses will prefer death. In my opinion, therefore, it will be wise in you to desist from a proposal, which neither the Senate, the People, nor any good man can approve."

Notwithstanding these sentiments, publicly declared by a person then supposed to be at the head of the republic, numbers in the city and in the Senate espoused the cause of Antony. Piso, at whose house the wife and children of this supposed public enemy were entertained, openly corresponded with him. The Consul Pansa proposed a fresh deputation to him with overtures of peace, and his party in the Senate insidiously offered to devolve the honor of this deputation upon Cicero himself, who rejected the offer, with proper animadversion on the danger to which his life must be exposed in the camp of his enemy, and discussed with his usual eloquence

"Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 6—27.

the weakness of the council itself, as well as the great impropriety of his being employed in it. C H A P.
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While this measure was in agitation, Hirtius and Octavius appear to have sent a joint message to Antony, informing him of what had been proposed in the Senate, and desiring a cessation of arms, with liberty to convey some supply to the garrison of Mutina, until the event of the Senate's deliberations should be known. Antony replied in terms calculated to insinuate himself into the favor of the late Cæsar's party, and to gain the affection of the army; but full of reproach and contumely against those who pretended to espouse the cause of the commonwealth, and against the authors of the present councils at Rome. These had recently procured a decree of the Senate, full of indignation against the murderers of Trebonius, and had furnished Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius with a commission and warrant to execute public justice against Dolabella on this account. In reference to these circumstances, "I know not," said Antony, in his answer to Hirtius and Octavius, "whether I
" should receive more satisfaction from the death
" of that villain Trebonius, than I feel indignation
" at the unjust sentence passed against Dolabella.
" That the Roman Senate should value the life of
" that vile fellow Trebonius, more than they did
" that of Cæsar himself, the father of his country,
" is surely provoking enough; but what must I
" feel, when I see you Hirtius, whom Cæsar has
" raised and adorned so much, that I am persuaded
" you scarcely know yourself, and when I see you,

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“ young man, who have no pretence to considera-
 “ tion besides the name of Cæsar, which you have
 “ boldly assumed, contributing all in your power
 “ to blast the memory of Cæsar? and when I see
 “ you both endeavouring to oppress his friends,
 “ committing yourselves, with all the powers of the
 “ commonwealth, into the hands of Marcus Brutus
 “ and of Caius Cassius, who were his murderers;
 “ and when I see you joined against me to rescue
 “ from justice this assassin, Decimus Brutus, who
 “ had so aggravated a part in the same crime? But
 “ the camp and the head-quarters of Pompey it
 “ seems are to be formed anew, and to bear the
 “ name and the authority of a Roman Senate, and
 “ the exile Cicero is to be set up at the head of
 “ this reviving party.

“ You are employed in avenging the death of
 “ Trebonius, I am employed in avenging that of
 “ Cæsar; we, who were once the friends of Cæsar,
 “ are like a troop of gladiators to part, and from
 “ opposite sides to fight and to cut one another's
 “ throats under the direction of Cicero, who is be-
 “ come master of the show! But for me, I have
 “ taken my resolution, and will neither suffer the
 “ veterans to be stript of their just rewards, nor the
 “ wrongs, which are intended to myself and to my
 “ friends, to be carried into execution. If in this
 “ I am supported, and succeed, life will be sweet;
 “ if I fall, the thought of what you are to suffer,
 “ from the very party you are now endeavouring
 “ to raise up against me, will even then be some
 “ consolation. If the faction of Pompey be so

“ insolent in its ruin, I choose that you, rather than
“ I should experience the effect of its recovery,
“ and of its return to power.”

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Antony, in all his discourses, affected to be in good understanding with Lepidus and with Plancus, who, he insinuated, were in concert with himself, and embarked in the same cause⁴⁷. But whatever secret correspondence these officers may have held together, they and Pollio likewise professed the highest duty to the Senate, and affection to the commonwealth. Plancus having, for some time after the commencement of the war, declined any open declaration, now informed the Senate in a public address, That he had hitherto been taking measures to render the declaration he should make of real moment to the republic; that he had remained silent so long, not from any hesitation in the choice of his party, but from a desire more effectually to serve that party which he had long since embraced; that before he declared himself, he had secured the co-operation of his officers, the affections of his army, and of the whole province in which he was stationed; that he was now at the head of five complete legions well affected to the republic, and, in consequence of his liberalities, attached to himself; that the whole province was unanimous in the same cause; that the People, with a zeal, which a concern for their own freedom or safety could not surpass, had taken arms in support of the Roman republic; that he was ready to

⁴⁷ Cicer. Philip. xiii.

B O O K V. obey the orders of the Senate, either to retain his command, or to resign it to any person they should appoint to receive it from him; that he would remain in his post, or advance upon the enemy; and by the last of these measures, if it should be thought expedient, draw upon himself the whole weight of the war; that provided he could, by any means, re-establish the commonwealth, or defer its ruin, the manner of doing it was indifferent to him. Others, he said, had declared themselves for the Senate, while that body, being greatly alarmed, was lavish of its commendations and of its rewards; but that if he had missed the time in which his services were likely to have been most highly valued, he had chosen the occasion which promised from them the greatest benefit to the commonwealth, a consideration which should be to him a sufficient reward for the highest service he could perform⁴⁸.

Pollio, at the same time, wrote to Cicero, expressing a violent detestation of Antony's party, and of the designs of their leader. To be connected with such a person in any cause, he said, would be grievous; even to have acted under Cæsar, being contrary to his disposition and to his principles, was, notwithstanding the circumstances which obliged him to it, now become sufficient matter of regret. The experience of his condition under that usurper had made him more sensible of the value of freedom, and of the misery of

⁴⁸ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 2.

dependance and servitude. "If any one for the future," he continued, "shall pretend to usurp such powers, he shall find in me an open and declared enemy. There is no danger to which I will not expose myself in the cause of freedom".

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While the party of the Senate appeared to gain such accessions of strength by the declaration of so many military officers in the different provinces, Decimus Brutus was reduced to great straits at Mutina: and waited, under many circumstances of distress, for the opening of a campaign, in which he expected that his own fate, and that of the republic, might soon be determined. On the approach of the proper season, the Consul Panfa, with the levies he had made, amounting to four legions, marched towards Gaul, and being arrived at Bononia on the fourteenth of April, was next day to have joined his colleague, who had taken post with Octavius to observe, and to impede the progress of the siege. To facilitate their junction, Hirtius had detached the legion which was called the Martia, with two Prætorian bands, to occupy the passes, and to strengthen the van of Panfa's army, in case they should be disturbed on their march. Antony, at the same time, having intelligence of their route, marched in the night with two chosen legions, the second and third, two Prætorian cohorts, being veteran and experienced troops, with a numerous body of irregulars and horse. He took post at a village, which was called the Forum Gallorum, and

⁴⁹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 31.

B O O K V. . posting the horse and irregulars in open view in the field, at some distance from the village, he placed the legions and irregular infantry in ambuscade under the cover of the houses.

When Panfa's army, led by the detachment which Hirtius had sent to receive them, came in sight of Antony's horse and irregulars, they could not be restrained until the posture and strength of the enemy were examined. They broke from their ranks, and, without waiting till the village should be visited, they rushed through a defile in a wood or morass to intercept the enemy, who, appearing to consist of horse and light infantry alone, could, as they apprehended, have no hopes of safety but by endeavouring to escape, which it was necessary by an immediate attack to prevent. As the foremost of Panfa's army were passing in the most disorderly manner from this defile, in pursuit of their supposed prey, Antony, with the legions, placed himself in their way, and forced them to fly with great slaughter. Panfa himself was dangerously wounded, and his army obliged to take refuge in the camp from which they had marched in the morning. Here too Antony attempted to force them, but was repulsed; and fearing that his own retreat might be cut off, took his resolution to retire, and endeavoured, without loss of time, to rejoin the main body of his army which lay before Mutina.

Antony was soon justified in his apprehensions of the danger to which the further pursuit of his victory over Panfa might have exposed him; for

Hirtius, having intelligence of the movement he had made in the night, though too late to prevent its effects, had left his camp with twenty cohorts of veterans, arrived at the Forum Gallorum, and was in possession of the very ground on which Panfa had been defeated, when Antony, returning from the pursuit of his victory, fell, in his turn, into the same snare which he himself, a few hours before, had so successfully laid for his enemy, was accordingly surprised and defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of the eagles or standards of both the legions, and of sixty ensigns of the cohorts. After this disaster he himself, having fled with the cavalry, arrived about ten at night in his camp before Mutina⁵⁰, from thence sent dispatches abroad to collect the remains of his scattered party, or to facilitate their retreat⁵¹.

Panfa having been carried to Bononia on account of the wounds he had received, Hirtius took the command of his division of the army, and effected its junction with his own, and with that of Octavius.

In this state of affairs, Antony being considerably weakened by his loss in the late action, and the enemy greatly reinforced by their junction, he determined to keep within his lines, to continue the blockade of Mutina, and to await the effect of the distress into which he had already reduced the besieged. The danger to which Decimus Brutus,

⁵⁰ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 30.

⁵¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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Upon this event, Octavius, not having the qualities of a soldier which were necessary to replace the Consul, suffered the victorious army, thus checked by the loss of their commander, to be driven back from the ground they had gained, and left Antony again in possession of his works.

The vanquished party, however, feeling all the effects of a defeat, and not being in condition to continue the siege, resolved to decamp in the night;

and they executed this resolution unobserved and unmolested by their enemies, either from the town of Mutina or the camp. Octavius had a courage and ability more fit for the council than for the field; and Decimus Brutus, though at break of day he observed that the lines of the besiegers seemed to be evacuated, yet, as he had no intelligence from the camp, remained all that day in suspense. Even after he had received information of what had passed, of the various events of the action, and of the Consul's death, and found, that he was from thenceforward to depend on Octavius for support and co-operation in the war, being greatly alarmed by the neglect which this young man had shown in not joining him the moment the communication between them was open; and not being in condition to act alone, having neither cavalry nor baggage-horses, and the troops being greatly reduced by the hardships they had suffered, he was obliged to remain inactive while the enemy continued their retreat undisturbed⁵².

On the second day after the battle, Decimus Brutus, being sent for by Panfa to Bononia to concert the future operations of the war, he learned, on his way, that this Consul was dead of his wounds.

By these delays Antony had got two days march a-head, and, without halting, reached the fens of Sabatta on the coast of Liguria. Here the country being of difficult access he thought himself

⁵² Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

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In the first accounts of Antony's defeat that were carried to Rome, it was reported, that his army had been entirely routed; that he himself had escaped from the field of battle with only a few broken remains of his infantry unarmed; and that to recruit his numbers, he had broken open the work-houses, and set loose and enlisted the slaves⁵⁴.

Upon these representations the Senate were greatly elated; and, amidst the acclamations of the People, ordered a feast of thanksgiving, which was to last for sixty days, and renewed the proclamation in which Antony, and all who had served under his command, were declared to have forfeited all the rights of citizens, and to be enemies of their country⁵⁵.

The commonwealth being deprived of its legal head by the death of both the Consuls, Decimus Brutus, as next in succession, according to the arrangement which had been made for the ensuing year, became the principal object of consideration with the Senate; and being supposed most deeply interested in the preservation of the republic, was the person on whom they chiefly relied for the

⁵³ Cicer. ad familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

⁵⁴ Ibid. ep. 10.

⁵⁵ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 39.

support of their cause. The Senators, accordingly, seemed to drop at once the high regard which they had hitherto paid to Octavius, and overlooking his pretensions and his influence over the army, gave to Brutus the command of all their forces, whether in Italy or in Gaul.

Thus ended the connexion of the young Cæsar with the friends of the republic, an alliance which had, on both sides, probably been equally insincere. The young man, pretending to have his eyes opened by this conduct of the Senate, and supposing that the party of Antony was less hostile to himself, than that which had now gained the ascendant in the commonwealth, he slighted the instructions which were sent to him to take his orders from Brutus, retained the command not only of the troops which had followed his own standard, but the command likewise of a legion which had been raised for the republic by Panfa⁵⁶. He refused to co-operate with Decimus Brutus in pursuing the late victory against Antony, and had influence enough with different bodies of the army, particularly with the fourth legion and the Martia, to hinder their obeying the orders they had received from Rome⁵⁷.

In this manner, as the respect which was paid to Octavius by the Senate vanished with the occasion which they had for his services; so all the professions he made of concern for the republic, and of

⁵⁶ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 20.

⁵⁷ Ibid. ep. 10. 19.

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zeal for its restoration, disappeared, with the interest which led him to make those professions. And Decimus Brutus, the person now acknowledged by the Senate as Consul-elect, and head of the republic, for whose relief Octavius affected to have assembled his forces, was left by him to finish the remains of the war against Antony, at the head of such troops as had any degree of attachment to the cause of the republic.

Decimus Brutus, when the war broke out, had a military chest of forty-thousand Sestertia, about three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; but the whole was now expended, and his own credit likewise exhausted. He was, from this time forward, ill supported at Rome, all motions made in his favor being opposed by the party of Octavius, as well as by that of Antony. The troops that adhered to him amounted to seven legions; these he subsisted by such resources as he himself could command. He advanced to Dortona on the fourth of May^{ss}; and from thence continuing his march till within thirty miles of the enemy, he received intelligence, that Antony in a speech to his army, had declared his intention to pass the Alps, and to cast himself entirely on the friendship of Lepidus, in whose disposition he professed to have great confidence; that this proposal being disagreeable to the army, they had declared their resolution to remain in Italy, and exclaimed, That there they would conquer, or perish; that Antony had

^{ss} Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 10.

been disconcerted by this declaration, and had continued a whole day undetermined as to his future operations; but in order to conform himself to the inclination of the army, and, if possible to keep his footing in Italy, he was about to surprise Pollentia, a fortified place on the Ténarus, and had detached Trebellius with a body of cavalry for this purpose.

Decimus Brutus upon this intelligence, sent forward three cohorts to prevent the design on Pollentia; and these having effected their march in time to secure the place, the enemy, by this disappointment, notwithstanding their late resolution to remain in Italy, were under a necessity of passing the Alps⁵⁹. They undertook this difficult march so ill provided with every necessary, that, according to Plutarch, they had no subsistence but what was found on the route, consisting chiefly of wild herbs, fruits, and animals not commonly used for human food; but Antony himself discovered a patience and a force of mind which no man, judging by his usual way of life, could have expected from him; and, by his own example, supported the spirits of his men through the greatest distresses⁶⁰.

Lepidus, in consequence of the Senate's instructions, or of his own desire to be at hand to take such measures as the state of the war in Italy might require, had discontinued the march of his army

⁵⁹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 13.

⁶⁰ Plut. in Antonio.

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into Spain, and returning through the province of Narbonne, had passed the Rhône at its confluence with the Saone; and now, hearing of Antony's march, descended on the left of these rivers, and took a situation to intercept him, not far from the coast at the Forum Vocontium, on a small river called the Argenteum, which empties itself into the sea at Forum Julii ⁶¹.

In the mean time, Antony had passed the Alps, and on the fifteenth of May arrived with the first division of his army at Forum Julii, four-and-twenty miles from the station of Lepidus. Ventidius having followed about two days march in the rear of Antony, and having again joined him at this place, their forces consisted ⁶² of the second legion entire, with a considerable number of men, but without arms; the broken remains of many legions, together with a body of cavalry, of which, this part of the army having suffered least in the late action, Antony had still a considerable force. But in this position many deserted from him, and his numbers were daily diminishing; Silanus and Culeo, two officers of rank, were among the deserters.

Such was the posture of affairs, on the twenty-first of May, when Lepidus gave to Cicero the strongest assurances ⁶³ of zeal for the commonwealth. Plancus, at the same time, had taken post on the Isere ⁶⁴, had thrown a bridge over that river,

⁶¹ Frejus.

⁶² Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 17.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Isura.

and

and waited for the arrival of Decimus Brutus, whom he expected to join him by the most ordinary passage of the Alps⁶⁵: but while he lay in this position he received a message from Lepidus, informing him of Antony's approach, and expressing great distrust of many in his own army, whom he suspected of a disposition to join the enemy. Upon these representations, Plancus marched on the twentieth of May, as appears from his dispatches to Rome of this date, expected to join Lepidus in eight days, and hoped, by his presence, to secure the fidelity of the army, which began to be questioned. He wrote, with great confidence, of the zeal and affection of his own troops, and was pleased to say, that he himself, unsupported by any other force, should be able to overwhelm, as he expresses himself, the broken forces of Antony, though joined by the followers of that muleteer Ventidius⁶⁶.

In the mean time, the armies of Antony and Lepidus remaining in sight of each other, frequent messages passed between the leaders; and as no hostilities were committed, the soldiers conversed freely together, though without any apparent effect⁶⁷. Lepidus still professed to govern himself by the orders of the Senate, and to employ his army in support of the commonwealth. But while he preserved these appearances, he sent an order to

⁶⁵ Probably by mount Cenis, or the channels of the Dorea Baltea and the Isere.

⁶⁶ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 13.

⁶⁷ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

BOOK countermand the junction of Plancus; and having
 V. convened his own army, as usual, around the platform⁶⁸, from which it was the custom to harangue the troops, he addressed them in a speech, in which he repeated his professions of duty to the republic, and urged a vigorous exertion in the war. It had not yet appeared to what point these professions were tending, when he was answered with exclamations, which he probably expected, from some leading persons among the soldiers, in which they declared the wishes of the army for peace. Two Roman Consuls, they said, had been already killed in this unnatural quarrel. The best blood of the republic had been spilt, and the most respectable citizens declared enemies of their country; that it was time to sheathe the sword; "for our parts," they said, "we are determined that our arms, from henceforward, shall not be employed on either side⁶⁹." From this audience the army of Lepidus proceeded to invite Antony into their camp, and presenting him to their general as a friend, terminated the war between them by a coalition, in appearance forced upon Lepidus, but probably previously concerted with himself.

Antony was now joined with Lepidus in the command of the army which had come to oppose him, and by his popularity, or superior ability, soon got the ascendant of his colleague. He found himself again at the head of a great force, composed

⁶⁸ The Suggestum, most commonly raised of turf.

⁶⁹ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 21.

of the remains of his late defeat, three legions that had joined him under Ventidius, and seven of which the army of Lepidus consisted ⁷⁰.

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Plancus, being still upon his march, persisted in his intention to join Lepidus, notwithstanding he had received an order or instruction from himself to the contrary; but having, at last, received positive information of his defection, and considering the danger to which he himself must be exposed with an inferior force against two armies united, he returned to his post on the Isere, and sent pressing instances to hasten the march of Decimus Brutus, and of other succours from Italy ⁷¹.

Lepidus, even after the reception of Antony into his camp, addressed the Senate in a solemn declaration, still asserting his affection to the commonwealth, and representing the late change of his measures as the effect of necessity imposed upon him by the troops, who, in a mutinous manner, refused to make war on their fellow-citizens. While he made these professions, he recommended to the Senate the example of the army, exhorted them to drop all private animosities, to make the public good the rule of their conduct, and not to treat as a crime, the humane and merciful disposition which fellow-citizens had exercised towards each other ⁷².

At the same time dispatches arrived from Plancus and Decimus Brutus, both treating the pretended

⁷⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁷¹ Cic. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 21.

⁷² Ibid. lib. x. ep. 35.

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mutiny of the army in Gaul as a mere artifice of their general to conceal his own defection⁷³. The city was greatly alarmed, even the populace, affecting a zeal for the authority of the Senate, demolished the statues which had been lately erected to Lepidus. The Senators, incensed not only at his treachery, but at the false professions with which he presumed to address them on the subject, proceeded to declare him a public enemy, and resolved, that all his adherents, who did not return to their duty before the first of September, should be involved in the same sentence. Private instructions were sent, at the same time, to Marcus Brutus, and to Caius Cassius urging them to hasten the march of their forces for the defence of the capital⁷⁴.

During these transactions, Octavius remained inactive on the frontiers of Italy. The demise of the two Consuls opened a new scene to his ambition. This event came so opportunely for his purpose, and his own character for intrigue was so much established, that he was suspected of having had an active part in procuring the death of those officers. It was said, that he employed some emissaries to dispatch Hirtius in the heat of battle; and that Pansa's wound, not being mortal, he suborned the person who dressed it, to render it so by an injection of poison. A surgeon, named Glyco, was actually taken into custody on this account; the suspicion remained against Octavius till the last moment of

⁷³ Cic. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 35.

⁷⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

his life, and even made a part in the grievous reproaches with which his memory continued to be loaded after his death ⁷⁵. It was rejected, however, at the time, even by Marcus Brutus, who warmly interceded with Cicero in behalf of Glyco, as a person who was himself a great sufferer by Panfa's death, and who bore such a reputation for probity as ought to have secured him against this imputation ⁷⁶. The testimony of Marcus Brutus, when given in favor of Octavius, must, no doubt, be admitted as of the greatest authority, and may be allowed, in a great measure, to remove the whole suspicion.

Octavius himself gave out, that Panfa, when dying of his wounds, desired to see him in private, gave him a view of the state of parties, and advised him no longer to remain the tool of those who meant only to demolish the party of Cæsar, in order that they themselves might rise on its ruins. But from the detail of what passed in the interval between the battle of Mutina and the death of Panfa, of which Decimus Brutus sent an account to Cicero, it does not appear that Octavius could have seen Panfa. And it is probable, that this pretended advice of the dying Consul was fabricated afterwards, to justify the part which Octavius took against the Senate ⁷⁷. The supposed admonition of Panfa, at any rate, was probably not necessary to dissuade

⁷⁵ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 10.

⁷⁶ Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 6. edit. Olivet. tom. 9.

⁷⁷ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

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Octavius from continuing to support the republic longer than his own interest required. This was the great rule of his conduct, and if, until that hour, he continued to believe, that the Senate intended to raise him on the ruin of Antony's party, in order that he might become their own master and sovereign of the commonwealth, he fancied surely what was not probable, and what they never professed to be their intention. The restoration of the republican government, and of the Senate's authority, implied, that individuals were to be satisfied with receiving the honors of the republic in their turn; and with this prospect, Octavius himself affected to be satisfied, so long as it suited with the state of his fortunes, to act the part of a republican.

The commonwealth undoubtedly sustained a great loss in the death of the two Consuls. Though trained up under Cæsar, and not possessed of any remarkable share of political virtue, they were men probably of moderate ambition, tenacious of the dignities to which they themselves and every free citizen might aspire, but not covetous of more. They were likely, therefore, to acquiesce in the civil establishment of their country, and by the dignity of their characters, to overawe the more desperate adventurers, whose views and successes were inconsistent with the safety of the commonwealth.

If the Consuls, Hirtius and Panfa, had lived even with such abilities as they possessed, they might have kept Lepidus within the bounds of his duty, they might have prevented Antony from recovering the defeat which he had lately received at Mutina, and

obliged Octavius, if not to drop his ambitious designs, at least to defer the execution of them to a more distant period. But, immediately after the death of these magistrates, it became evident, that this young man was dissatisfied with his situation and with his party, he not only kept at a distance from Decimus Brutus, but seemed determined not to take any part in the farther operations of the campaign. The prisoners that were in his hands he treated as friends, and by suffering them, without any exchange or ransom, to join their own army, gave hopes that he was ready to treat on reasonable terms of a reconciliation with their general. He, at the same time, took steps with the Senate that seemed to prognosticate a rupture, made application for a triumph, in which neither his age, his rank, nor his share in the late action, or in the victory obtained over Antony, in any degree supported him; and having failed in this attempt, he declared his intention to sue for the office of Consul.

Octavius, when he offered himself as a candidate for the Consulship, according to Dio Cassius, affected to insist that Cicero⁷⁸ should be associated with him in the office⁷⁹, and should take the whole administration on himself. For his own part, he said, that, in this association, he aspired only to the title of Magistrate; that all the world must know, the whole authority of government, and

⁷⁸ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 42.

⁷⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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all the glory to be reaped in the public service would redound to his colleague ; that , in this request , and in that he had made for a triumph , he had no object but to gain a situation in which he might lay down his arms with honor , as having such a public attestation in behalf of his services ⁸⁰.

Cicero , according to the testimony of the same historian , fell into the snare that was laid for him by this artful boy , supported his pretensions , and was willing to become the colleague and the tutor of this reviving Cæsar.

Octavius afterwards boasted of the artifice he had employed in this piece of flattery to Cicero , as the only means he had left , at that time , to secure the continuance of his military command ⁸¹. But the Senators , and the partisans of the conspirators , in particular , were greatly exasperated. The proposition appeared so strange , that no Tribune , no person in any office , not even any private citizen , could be found to move it ⁸². The animosity of Cicero to Antony had already , they thought , carried him too far in supporting the pretensions of this aspiring young man. If he should prevail on the present occasion , all that the Senate had hitherto done to restore the constitution would be fruitless. A person , who presumed to claim the office of Consul at an age so improper , and so far short of that which the law prescribed , was likely , when possessed

⁸⁰ Cicer. ad Brutum , ep. 10.

⁸¹ Plut. in Cicer.

⁸² Cicer. ad Brutum , ep. 10.

of this power, to set no bounds to his usurpations. In order, therefore, to elude his requisition, they were obliged to defer the elections, and, in the mean time, appointed ten commissioners under pretence of inquiring into the abuses committed in Antony's administration, and of distributing to the army the gratuities, and of executing the settlements devised for their late services, but probably with a real intention to vest these commissioners with the chief direction of affairs, until it could be determined who should succeed in the office of Consul, and who should be intrusted with the safety of the republic. The partisans of the commonwealth were now, in appearance, superior to their enemies, but far from being secure in possession of the superiority they had gained⁸³.

The Senate, in order to exclude Octavius from this commission, without giving him any particular reason to complain of their partiality, at the same time left out Decimus Brutus; and by this equal exclusion of persons at the head of armies from the management of affairs, in which the armies were so much concerned, they enabled Octavius to fill the minds of the soldiers with distrust of the civil power, and to state the interests of the civil and military factions as in opposition to each other⁸⁴. He no longer, therefore, disguised his aversion to the Senate; complained, that they treated him disrespectfully, called him a boy, who must be

⁸³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁸⁴ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 20.

BOOK V. amused³⁵, decked out with honors, and afterwards destroyed³⁶. "I am excluded," he said, "from the present commission, not from any distrust in me, but from the same motive from which Decimus Brutus is also excluded, a general distrust of every person who is likely to espouse the interests of the army; and, from these exclusions, it is evident what they intend with respect to the claims of the veterans, and with respect to their expectations of a just reward for their services³⁷."

Upon the junction of Antony with Lepidus, the Senate felt the necessity of paying a little more attention than they had lately done to the interests of Octavius. Instead of appointing him to act under Decimus Brutus, as they at first intended, they joined him in the command of the army; and, in this new situation, required him to co-operate in defending Italy against the united forces of Antony and Lepidus.

Octavius instantly communicated to the army these orders of the Senate, with insinuations of the hardships which they were now to undergo on being sent on a fresh service, before they had received the rewards which were promised and due to them for the former; and he proposed, that they should

³⁵ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 21.

³⁶ Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.— This last word is ambiguous. This saying was imputed to Cicero, but is peremptorily denied.

³⁷ Sueton. in Octavio, c. 12.

send deputies to the Senate with proper representations on this subject. C H A P.
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A number of Centurions were accordingly selected to carry the mandate of the army to Rome. As they delivered their message in name of the legion, without any mention of Octavius, this was thought a favorable opportunity to negotiate directly with the troops, without consulting their leader; and the Senate accordingly sent a commission for this purpose, with hopes that they might be able to detach the whole army from their general, or that at least they might be able to engage, in their own cause, those legions in particular, who had deserted from Antony, with professions of zeal for the commonwealth.

Octavius, to counteract this design before the commissioners employed in the execution of it arrived, drew forth his army, and in a speech complained of this and of the former injuries he had received from the Senate: "Their intention," he said, "is to cut off separately all the leaders of Cæsar's party. When they have accomplished this purpose, the army too must fall at their feet". They will recal the grants of land which have been made to you, and will deprive you of the just reward of all your faithful services. They charge me with ambition; but what evidence is there of my ambition? Have I not declined the dignity of Prætor, when you offered to procure it for me?—My motive is not

²² Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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“ambition, but the love of my country; and for
 “this I am willing to run any hazard to which I
 “myself may be exposed; but cannot endure, up-
 “on any account, that you should be stripped of what
 “you have so dearly bought by your services in the
 “public cause. It is now become evident, that,
 “in order to prevent the most dangerous powers
 “from coming into the hands of your enemies,
 “and in order to ensure the rewards to which you
 “are so justly entitled, it is necessary that your
 “friends should be raised to the head of the com-
 “monwealth. In the capacity of Consul I shall be
 “able to do justice to your merits; to punish the
 “murderers of my father, to be revenged of your
 “enemies, and at last to bring these unhappy
 “domestic dissensions to an end⁸⁹.”

This harangue was returned with acclamations of joy, and a second deputation, to be escorted by four hundred men, was instantly appointed from the army, demanding the Consulship for their general. The officers employed in this service were repeatedly admitted to audiences in the Senate⁹⁰. In answer to the objections which were drawn from the defects of their general's age and title, they urged former precedents; that of Scipio, of Dola-bella, and the special acts relating to Octavius himself, in whose favor ten years of the legal age were already dispensed with. One of the officers in this singular deputation, while the Senate proposed

⁸⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁹⁰ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 42.

a delay in order to deliberate on the matter, is said to have shown the hilt of his dagger; and some one of the party who escorted the deputies, in resuming his arms at the door of the Senate-house, was heard to say, in girding the belt of his sword, *If you will not confer the Consulate on Octavius, this shall.* To these menacing insinuations, Cicero, who had jokes imputed to him, on occasions that were equally serious to himself and to the republic, is said to have replied, *Nay, if you pray in that language, you will surely be heard.*

While the Senate delayed giving any direct answer to this military demand, they again sent a deputation of their own members with money to be distributed to the legions, hoping, by this means, to divert them from the project which they had formed in favor of their general. But Octavius, being secretly apprized that a sum of money was sent to corrupt his army, and observing that the soldiers were impatient at having no immediate return to their own message, chose not to wait the trial of this dangerous experiment, separated the legions into two columns, marched directly to Rome; and on his way being met by the deputies of the Senate, he commanded them, at their peril, not to approach the army, or to interrupt its march.

Upon the news of his approach, the city was thrown into great consternation. The Senate, believing they had erred in offering too little money to the troops, ordered the former bounty to be doubled⁹¹. They resolved that Octavius should

⁹¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

BOOK be admitted to the Consulate ; or, according to
V. Dio Cassius, that he should have the title and en-
 signs of Consul, but without the actual power ; that
 he should have a place in the Senate among those
 who had been Consuls ; that he should be Prætor at
 the first elections, and Consul at the following⁹².
 And thus having done enough to show their fears,
 but not to disarm, or to lull the ambition of this
 presumptuous young man, they sent new deputies,
 with every symptom of trepidation and alarm, to
 intimate these resolutions.

Soon after this deputation from the Senate was
 dispatched, two legions, lately transported from
 Africa, and ordered for the defence of the city,
 having arrived at the gates, the Senators, with their
 party among the People, resumed their courage :
 they were even disposed to recal their late con-
 cessions, and began to exclaim, that it were better
 to perish in defending their liberties, than, without
 any struggle, to fall a prey to their enemies. Per-
 sons of every description assumed the military dress,
 and ran to their arms.

There were now at Rome three legions, with a
 thousand horse ; one legion having been left there
 by Panfa when he marched towards Gaul. These
 troops were posted on the side from which the enemy
 was expected, on the Janiculum and the bridge
 which led from thence to the city. Gallies were
 ordered to be in readiness at Ostia, to convey the
 public treasure beyond the sea, in case it should

⁹² Dio Cass. lib. xlvi. c. 41.

become necessary to take this measure to save it: and it was determined to seize the mother and sister of Octavius²³, who were then supposed to be at Rome, and to detain them as hostages. But this intention was frustrated by the timely escape of these women, who, apprehending some danger, had already withdrawn from the city. Their flight, or the early precaution which they themselves, or their friends, had taken in this matter, was considered as the evidence of a long premeditated design on the part of Octavius.

Under this impression, and that of the superior force with which it was known Octavius was prepared to assail them, the Senators again lost hopes of being able to resist; but they flattered themselves, that the resolution they had taken to defend the city, would not be known in time to prevent their first message to the army from being delivered. Their concessions were accordingly published among the troops; but appearing to be forced were received with contempt, and served only to encourage the presumption of the soldiers, and to hasten their march. As the army drew near to the city, all the approaches were deserted by those who had been placed to defend them, and the advanced guard of Octavius passed to the Mons Quirinalis, without being met by any person in the quality either of friend or of enemy. But, after a little pause, numbers of his own party among the people having gone forth to receive him, the streets

²³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

BOOK V. were instantly crowded with persons of all ranks, who hastened to pay their court ²⁴.

Octavius having halted his army during the night in the first streets which they entered; on the following day, with a proper escort, and amidst the shouts and acclamations of the multitude, took possession of the Forum. The troops who had been assembled to oppose him, at the same time left their stations, and made an offer of their services. Cornutus, one of the officers who commanded those troops, having in vain endeavoured to prevent this defection, killed himself. Cicero is said to have desired a conference with his young friend; but when he seemed to presume on his former connexion, was coldly answered, That he had been slow in his present advances.

In the following night a rumor was spread, that the Martia and the fourth legion, which made a part in the army of Octavius, but supposed to be particularly attached to the Senate, on account of the late honorary decrees which had passed in their favor, had declared against the violent measures of their leader; that they offered to protect the Senate and People in their legal assemblies, and in any resolutions they should form on the present state of the republic. Numbers of Senators believed this report, and were about to resume their meetings. Crassus, one of the Prætors, set out for the Picenum, where he had considerable influence, in order to assemble what forces he could raise to

²⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

secure the success of this design; but before morning this report was known to be groundless, and all orders of men returned to their former dejection and submission. C H A P.
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At break of day Octavius removed the army from the streets of Rome into the Campus Martius. He did not suffer any acts of cruelty to be committed, or make any inquiry after those who had been forward in opposing his claims. He affected the clemency of his late uncle; but like him too, without any scruple, laid his hands on the public treasure, made a distribution to the army of the sums which had been first decreed to them; and engaged for himself, soon after, to add from his own estate what had been successively promised. Having ordered that the election of Consuls should immediately proceed, he withdrew with the army, affecting to leave the People to a free choice. And being himself elected, together with Q. Pedius, whom, without any mention of Cicero, he had recommended for this purpose, he returned in solemn procession to offer the sacrifices usual on such occasions, and entered on his office on the twenty-first of September, the day before he completed his twentieth year⁹.

On this occasion the young Cæsar, in the capacity of Consul, made a speech to the troops, acknowledging their services; but avoided imputing to their interposition the honors which he

⁹ Vell. Paternulus, lib. ii. c. 65.

B O O K had recently obtained in the city. For these honors
V. he returned his thanks to the Senate, and to the assemblies of the People. These he accosted as the sovereigns of the empire; and was answered by an affected belief of his sincerity.

In the same spirit of servility with which so many honors had been decreed to Julius Cæsar, it was enacted, that Octavius should for ever take rank of every Consul, and the command of every general, at the head of his own army; that he should have an unlimited commission to levy troops, and to employ them where the necessities of the State might require⁹⁶; that his adoption into the family of Cæsar should now be ratified in the most solemn manner by the assembly of the Curizæ; a form which the laws of the republic required in every such case, and in which he had been formerly prevented by the intrigues of Antony; that the act declaring Dolabella an enemy of his country should be repealed, and an inquest set on foot for the trial of those who had been concerned in the death of Julius Cæsar.

In consequence of this establishment, numbers were cited, and upon their non-appearance were condemned. Among these were Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius. In giving sentence against them, the judges affected to show their ballots; and a citizen, of the name of Silicius Coronas, being of the number, likewise held up his ballot into public view; but, in the midst of this tide

⁹⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 39.

of servility and adulation, had the courage to
 acquit the accused. His courage for the present
 passed without animadversion, but he was re-
 served, with silent resentment, as an object of
 future punishment".

CHAP.
 III.

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

C H A P. IV.

Proceedings of the new Consul. — State of the Eastern Provinces. — Interview of Octavius, and Antony, and Lepidus, with their Coalition. — The Proscription or Massacre. — Death of Cicero. — Sequel of the Massacre. — Succession of Consuls. — Severe Exaction of Taxes. — State of Sextus Pompeius. — Movements of Antony and Octavius respectively. — Both bend their Course to the East. — Posture and Operations of Brutus and Cassius. — Their Arrival and Progress in Europe. — Campaign at Philippi. — First Action and Death of Cassius. — Second Action and Death of Brutus.

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THE republic, of which Octavius was now, in appearance, the legal magistrate, had declared open war against Antony and Lepidus; and, in consequence of this declaration, the forces of Decimus Brutus and of Plancus, as has been mentioned, had advanced to the Rhône and the Isère, but had been obliged again to retreat, in order to avoid coming to action with a superior enemy. It was considered, therefore, as the first object of the Consul to reinforce that army of the republic, and to carry the decrees of the Senate into execution against those who presumed to dispute their authority. He accordingly marched

from the city as upon this design; but it soon after appeared, that he had been some time in correspondence with these supposed enemies of their country; that he intended to join them against the Senate, and, with their forces united, to resist the storm which was gathering against them in the East under the governors of Macedonia and Syria.

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While the siege of Mutina was still in dependence, Marcus Brutus had drawn his forces towards the coast of Epirus, with intention to pass into Italy; but having received a report that Dolabella, then in the province of Asia, had transported a body of men from thence to the Chersonesus¹, and that he seemed to intend the invasion of Macedonia, he was obliged to return for the defence of his own province; and from thence forward, by the state of the war in Syria was hindered, during some time, from taking any part in the affairs of the West.

Dolabella, in consequence of his appointment to the government of Syria, after the murder of Trebonius, had assembled a fleet on the coast, to accompany the march of his army by land, and to dispute the possession of that province with Cassius². His operations, however, began in that quarter with his receiving a great check to his hopes in the defeat of his fleet; his gallies having been dispersed, and all his transports taken by

¹ Cic. ad Brutum, ep. 2.

² Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 12.

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Lentulus, who had served under Trebonius, and who now commanded the fleets of Brutus and Cassius in those seas³. Notwithstanding this defeat of his forces at sea, he advanced by land into Cilicia; and while his antagonist lay in Palestine, to intercept the legions that were coming to join him from Egypt, he made considerable levies, took possession of Tarsus, reduced the party which Cassius had left at Æga, and proceeded to Antioch, but finding the gates of this town were shut against him, he continued his march to Laodiceæ, where he was admitted; being determined to make a stand at this place, he again assembled the remains of his fleet, in order to bring his supply of stores and provisions by sea⁴. Having encamped and intrenched his army close to the walls of Laodiceæ, he threw down part of the ramparts, to open a communication between his camp and the town⁵.

Cassius having intelligence of this progress made by Dolabella in Syria, and of his dispositions to secure Laodiceæ, prepared to dislodge him from thence. For this purpose he advanced to Pallos, at the distance of twenty miles from the enemy's station, and took measures, by cutting off his supplies both by sea and by land, to reduce him by famine. In execution of this design, he endeavoured to procure shipping from every part of the coast, extending from Rhodes to Alexandria;

³ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 15.

⁴ Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 30.

⁵ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 13.

but found that most of the maritime States of Asia were already drained by his enemy, or were unwilling to declare themselves for either party. The port of Sidon was the first that furnished him any supply of vessels; but the officer who commanded them having ventured to appear before Laodicæa, was unable to cope with the navy which Dolabella had collected from his late defeat; and though he defended himself with great obstinacy, and with great slaughter of the enemy, after many ships were sunk on both sides, suffered a capture of five gallies with all their crews. Notwithstanding this check, Cassius was soon after joined by squadrons from Tyre, Aradus, and even from Cyprus. The governor of this island, contrary to the orders of Cleopatra, his sovereign, who had assembled her fleet to support Dolabella, ventured to change their destination, and to take part with Cassius⁶.

With this accession of force, Cassius being again in condition to block up the harbour of Laodicæa, presented himself for this purpose, and two engagements followed; in the first of which the advantage was doubtful; in the second, the victory declared for Cassius, and rendered him master of the coast. Holding his enemy therefore blocked up by sea, he continued to press upon the town from the land, and, by the fifth of June, had reduced the besieged to great distress; but while he seemed to rely entirely on the effects of this circumstance⁷,

⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁷ Cicero. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 13.

200 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK V. he carried on a correspondence with the garrison, and, on a day concerted with the officer on duty, was admitted into the place.

Dolabella, finding that the town was delivered up, chose to fall by the sword of one of his own men, of whom he requested the favor to save him, by this last act of duty, from falling into the hands of his enemies. The troops who had served under him acknowledged the authority of his rival, and took the oath of fidelity usual in ranging themselves under a new general. Cassius seized what money he found in the public treasury, or in the temples at Laodicæa, laid the citizens under a heavy contribution, and put some of those who had been most forward in serving his enemy to death⁸.

Such was known, some time before the battle of Mutina, to be the event of affairs in Asia; and the fortunes of Marcus Brutus and Cassius; they being supposed to have twenty legions under their command, with all the resources of the Eastern Empire, were still in a thriving condition, when Octavius, soon after his nomination to the office of Consul, under pretence of urging the war against Antony and Lepidus, had taken his departure from Rome, leaving his colleague Pedius in the administration of the city. To him he had given instructions to obtain, as of his own accord, the revocation of the acts by which Antony and Lepidus had been declared public enemies. He incited the army, at the

⁸ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

same time, to demand a reconciliation of parties, and administered an oath to them, in which they swore not to draw their swords against any of the troops who had ever served under Cæsar. As Pedius made no mention of his colleague in making his motion in favor of Antony and Lepidus, the Senate, not knowing how far it might be agreeable to Octavius, referred the whole matter to himself; and, upon his having signified his approbation, proceeded to revoke their former decree of attainder⁹. By these means Octavius, without appearing himself as the author of this change, transferred the imputation of treason from Antony and Lepidus to Brutus and Cassius, with their adherents in the late conspiracy against the life of Cæsar.

As soon as the state of parties was thus transformed, Octavius congratulated the Senate on the wisdom of their measures, and from thenceforward treated with Antony and Lepidus as friends, corresponded with them on the subject of the commonwealth, and invited them, without loss of time, to return into Italy.

Under pretence of this revolution in the government, Plancus withdrew his forces from the army of Decimus Brutus, and espoused the cause, which the republic itself under the authority of the Consuls, appeared to avow. Pollio likewise followed this example.

In consequence of these separations, Decimus Brutus was left singly to withstand the force of so

⁹ Dio Cass. lib. xlvi. c. 44.

B O O K many enemies who were united, and now support-
V. ed against him with the authority of the State itself. He still had ten legions, of which the four with which he had defended the city of Mutina during the preceding winter, were not yet recovered from the sufferings of that service. With the other six, being raw and undisciplined troops, he did not think himself in condition to continue the war against so many enemies; and he determined therefore to withdraw by Illyricum into Macedonia, and to join himself with the forces which were raised for the republic in that province. But in the execution of this design he found, that in civil wars armies are not easily retained on the losing side, and had occasion to observe, that they are never hearty in behalf of civil institutions against a professed intention to establish military government. On pretence of the hardships of the proposed march, he was deserted first by the new levies, and afterwards by the veterans, with all the irregulars who, except a few Gaulish horse, went over with their colors to the enemy. Of those who remained, he, under the deepest impressions of despair, allowed as many as chose it to depart; and with only three hundred horsemen who adhered to him, set out for the Rhine, intending to make his intended retreat through Germany. But, in proportion as difficulties multiplied on his way, the little troop which attended him gradually diminished; and being reduced to ten, he imagined that, with so few in his company, he might even pass through Italy undiscovered. He accordingly disguised himself,

and returned to Aquileia; but being there seized, though unknown, as a suspicious person, and being conducted to an officer of the district who knew him, he was by the orders of Antony put to death ¹⁰.

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Thus, while all the military powers of the East were assembled under Marcus Brutus and Cassius, with a professed design to restore the republic, those of the West were equally united for a contrary purpose. Antony and Lepidus having passed the Alps, descended the Po, and advanced towards Mutina. Octavius being already in that neighbourhood with his army, they met, with five legions of each side, on the opposite banks of the Lavinus, not far from the scene of their late hostile operations against each other. The leaders agreed to hold a conference in a small island formed by the separation and reunion of two branches of the river. To the end that they might have equal access to this island, bridges were laid on the divisions of the Lavinus by which the island was formed. The armies drew up on the opposite banks; and as the recent animosities of Antony and Octavius still left some remains of distrust between them, Lepidus first entered alone into the place that was intended for their conference; and having seen that no snares were laid by either party, he made the signal agreed on, and was joined by the other two without any attendants.

Octavius now met with Antony in a character

¹⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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more respectable than that in which he had formerly appeared to him, and, with the dignity of the Roman Consul in office, had the place of honor assigned to him. They continued their conference during this and the two following days²¹; and at the expiration of this time made known to their armies, that they had agreed on the following articles: That Octavius, in order to divest himself of every legal advantage over his associates, should resign the Consulate; that the three military leaders, then upon an equal footing, should hold or share among them, during five years, the supreme administration of affairs in the empire; that they should name all the officers of state, magistrates, and governors of provinces; that Octavius should have the exclusive command in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus in Spain, and Antony in Gaul; that Lepidus should be substituted for Decimus Brutus in the succession to the Consulate for the following year, and should have the administration at Rome, while Octavius and Antony pursued the war against Brutus and Cassius in the East; that the army, at the end of the war, should have settlements assigned to them in the richest districts and best situations of Italy. Among the last were specified Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibona.

To ratify this agreement, the daughter of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, by Clodius her former husband, was betrothed to Octavius. He was said to have

²¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

already made a different choice, and consequently to have had no intention to fulfill this part of the treaty ¹²; but the passions, as well as the professions, of this young man, were already sufficiently subservient to his interest ¹³.

While the army was amused by the publication of these several articles, the circumstances which chiefly distinguished this famous coalition, was the secret resolution, then taken, to extinguish at once all future opposition to the Cæsarian party, by sacrificing all their private and public enemies. They drew up a list, of which the numbers are variously reported, comprehending all those who had given them private or public offence, and in which they mutually sacrificed their respective friends to each other's resentment. Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to the resentment of Octavius; who, in his turn, sacrificed to that of Antony, Cicero, with Thoranius, his own guardian, and his father's colleague in the office of Prætor ¹⁴. Lepidus gave up his own brother L. Paulus; and all of them agreed to join with these private enemies every person supposed to be attached to the republican government, amounting in all to three hundred Senators and two thousand of the Equestrian order, besides many persons of inferior note, whose names they deferred entering in the list until their arrival at Rome. They meant, as soon as they should

¹² Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 54, 55, 56.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Sueton. in Octav. c. 27.

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be in possession of the capital, to publish the whole list for the direction of those who were to be employed in the execution of the massacre. But as there were a few whose escape they were particularly anxious to prevent, they agreed that the murders should begin, without any warning, by the death of twelve or seventeen of their most considerable enemies, and among these by the death of Marcus Tullius Cicero¹⁵. They ratified the whole by mutual oaths; and having published all the articles, except that which related to the massacre, the plan of reconciliation between the leaders was received by the armies with shouts of applause, and was supposed to be the beginning of a period in which military men were to rest from their labors, and to enjoy undisturbed the most ample reward of their services.

This celebrated cabal, known by the name of the Second Triumvirate, having thus planned the division or joint administration of an empire which each of them hoped in time to engross for himself, they proceeded to Rome with an aspect which, to those who composed the civil establishment of the commonwealth, was more terrible than that of any faction which had been hitherto formed for its destruction.

In former times, individuals rose to the head of parties or factions, and brought armies to their standard by the natural ascendant of superior abilities; and either disdained the advantages of usurped

¹⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

dominion, or knew how to employ their powers in exertions not unworthy of human reason. But in this instance, persons obscure, or only known by their profligacy, were followed by armies who conceived the design of enslaving their country. The spirit of adventure pervaded the meanest rank of the legions, and every soldier grasped at the fruits that were to be reaped in subduing the commonwealth. If no person had offered to put himself at their head, they themselves would have raised up a leader whom they might follow in seizing the spoils of their fellow-citizens.

Lepidus noted for his want of capacity, being in the rank of Prætor when Cæsar took possession of Rome, and being the only Roman officer of State who was willing to prostitute the dignity of his station, by abetting the violence which was now done to the constitution, was intrusted with power, and the command of an army, merely because he brought the name and authority of a magistrate to the side of the usurpation. The use of his name had been likewise convenient to Antony in the late junction or coalition of the armies; and was now necessary or convenient to both the other parties in this famous association, as he held a kind of balance between them, and was to witness transactions in which neither was willing to trust the other.

Antony, possessed of parts which were known chiefly by the profligate use which he made of them, seeking to repair by rapine a patrimony which he had wasted in debauch; and sometimes strenuous when pressed by necessity, yet ever relapsing in

BOOK every moment of ease or relaxation into the vilest
V. debauchery or dissipation.

Octavius, yet a boy, only known by acts of perfidy and cunning above his years; equally indifferent to friendship or enmity, apparently defective in personal courage, but followed by the remains of Cæsar's army, as having a common cause with themselves in securing the advantages which they severally claimed by virtue of his authority. He was now about the twentieth year of his age, had been already two years at the head of a faction, veering in his professions and in his conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time reconciled with the authors of Cæsar's death, and courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen for the preservation of the commonwealth; at another time, courting the remnant of his late uncle's army, by affecting concern for their interests, and a solicitude for the security of the grants they had obtained from Cæsar: at variance with Antony on the score of personal insults and incompatible pretensions, even charged with designs on his life; but reconciled to him, in appearance, from considerations of interest or present conveniency. He had already, in the transactions of so short a life, given indications of all the vilest qualities incident to human nature, perfidy, cowardice and cruelty; but with an ability or cunning which, if suffered to continue its operations, was likely to prevail in the contest for superiority with his present rivals in the empire.

Such was the received description of persons who had now parcelled among themselves the government
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of the world, and whose vices were exaggerated by the fears of those who were likely to suffer by the effects of their power. Under the dominion of such a junto, if any one were left to regret the loss of public liberty, or to feel the state of degradation into which citizens were fallen; if any one could look forward from the terrors of a present tyranny to the prospect of future evils; to them surely a scene of expectation was opening, the most gloomy that ever had presented itself to mankind, persons, apparently incapable of any noble or generous purpose, coveting power as a licence to crimes, supported by bands of unprincipled villains, were now ready to seize and to distribute, in lots among themselves, all the dignities of the state, and all the patrimony of its members.

In human affairs however, the prospect, whether good or bad in extreme, is seldom verified by the end; and human nature, when seemingly driving to the wildest excess, after a series of events and struggles, settles at last in some sort of mediocrity, beyond which it never is pushed but by occasional starts and fallies. The first entry of this Triumvirate on the scene of their government, indeed, was such as could scarcely be supported in the sequel of any tyranny or usurpation whatever.

The Triumvirs being on their way to Rome, their orders for the immediate execution of seventeen of the principal Senators had been received before their arrival, and several were accordingly surprised and murdered in their houses, or in the streets. The first alarm appearing the more

B O O K terrible, as the occasion of these murders was un-
V. known, struck all orders of men with a general amazement and terror. The streets were presently deserted and hushed in silence, except where armed parties skulked in search of their prey, or by the cries which they raised, gave mutual intimation of the discoveries they made. Persons who found themselves pursued, attempted to set the city on fire, in order to facilitate their own escape. Pedius, the Consul, continued all night in the streets, endeavouring to prevent the calamity of a general fire. In order to quiet the minds of those who were not aimed at in this execution, he published the names of the seventeen, with assurances that the executions were not to proceed any farther¹⁶. It has been supposed, that the design was no farther communicated to this magistrate, and that he would have opposed the extremes to which it was carried; but, on the following night, he died of the fatigue he had incurred on this occasion, and the public assurances he had given were attended with no effect.

The Triumvirs marched separately towards the city, and made their entry on three several days. As they arrived in succession, they occupied every quarter with guards and attendants, and filled every public place with armed men, and with military standards and ensigns. In order to ratify the powers they had devised for themselves, they put the articles of their agreement into the hands of the

¹⁶ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

Tribune Publius Titius, with instructions, that they should be proposed and enacted in the public assembly of the Roman People; and put in the form of a legal commission, or warrant, for the government they had usurped. By the act which passed on this occasion, the supreme power or sovereignty of the republic, during five years, without any reserve or limitation, was conferred on Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and a solemn thanksgiving being ordered for the events already passed, which led to this termination, the citizens in general, under the deepest impressions of terror and sorrow, were obliged to assume appearances of satisfaction and joy.

As the first act of this government, two lists or proscriptions were delivered to the proper officers of the army, and posted in different parts of the city; one a list of Senators, the other a list of persons of inferior rank, on whom the troops were directed to perform immediate execution. In consequence of these orders, all the streets, temples, and private houses, instantly became scenes of blood¹⁷. At the same time, there appeared on the part of the Triumvirs a manifesto, in which, having stated the ingratitude of many whom Cæsar had spared, of many whom he had promoted to high offices, and whom he had even destined to inherit his fortunes, and who, nevertheless, conspired against his life, they alledged the necessity they were under of preventing the designs of their enemies, and of extir-

¹⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. Appian. lib. iv.

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pating a dangerous faction, whom no benefits could bind, and whom no consideration, sacred or profane, could restrain. "Under the influence of this faction," they said, "the perpetrators of a horrid murder, instead of being called to an account, are intrusted with the command of provinces, and furnished with resources of men and money to support them against the efforts of public justice, and against the indignation of the Roman People. Some of these murderers," they continued, "we have already chastised; others, being at the head of powerful armies, threaten to frustrate the effects of our just resentment. Having such a conflict to maintain in the provinces, it would be absurd to leave an enemy in possession of the city, and ready to take advantage of any unfavorable accident that may befall us in defence of the commonwealth. For this reason, we have determined to cut off every person who is likely to abet their designs at Rome, and to make this desperate faction feel the effects of that war which they were so ready to declare against us and our friends.

"We mean no harm to the innocent, and shall molest no citizen, in order to seize his property. We shall not insist on destroying even all those whom we know to be our enemies; but the most guilty, it is the interest of the Roman People, as well as ours, to have removed, that the republic may no longer be torn and agitated by the quarrels of parties who cannot be reconciled.

"Some atonement is likewise due to the army

“ insulted by the late decrees, in which they were
 “ declared enemies to the commonwealth. C H A P.
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“ We might,” they continued, “ have surpris’d
 “ and taken all our enemies without any warning,
 “ or explanation of our conduct; but we chose to
 “ make an open declaration of our purpose, that the
 “ innocent may not, by mistake, be involved with
 “ the guilty, nor even be unnecessarily alarmed.”

They concluded this fatal proclamation, with a prohibition to conceal, rescue, or protect any person whose name was proscribed; and they declared, that whoever acted in opposition to this order, should be considered as one of the number, and involved in the same ruin. They declared, that whoever produced the head of a person proscribed, if a free man, he should receive twenty-five thousand Attic drachms or denarii, and if a slave, should have his liberty, with ten thousand of the same money; and that every slave killing his master, in execution of this proscription should have his freedom, and be put on the rolls of the People in the place of the person he had slain.

At the time that this proclamation and the preceding lists were published, armed parties had already seized on the gates of the city, and were prepared to intercept all who attempted to escape. Others began to ransack the houses, and took their way to the villas and gardens in the suburbs, where it was likely that any of the proscribed had retired. By the disposition they made, the execution began in many places at once, and those who knew or suspected their own destination, like the inhabitants

BOOK of a city taken by storm, were on every side surrounded by enemies, from whom they were to receive no quarter. To many, it is observed by historians, that their own nearest relations were objects of terror, no less than the mercenary hands that were armed against them. The husband and the father did not think himself secure in his concealment, when he supposed it to be known to his wife or to his children. The slaves and freedmen of a family, were become its most terrible enemies. The debtor had an interest in circumventing his creditor, and neighbours in the country mutually dreaded each other as informers and spies. The money which the master of a family was supposed to have in his house, was considered as an additional reward to the treachery of his domestics. The first citizens of Rome were prostrate at the feet of their own slaves, imploring protection and mercy, or perished in the wells or common sewers, where they attempted to conceal themselves.

Persons having any private grudge or secret malice, took this opportunity to accomplish their ends. Even they who were inclined to protect or conceal the unhappy, were terrified with the prospect of being involved in their ruin. Many, who themselves, contrary to expectation, were not in the list of the proscribed, enjoyed their own safety, in perfect indifference to the distress of their neighbours; or, that they might distinguish themselves by their zeal for the prevailing cause, joined the executioners, assisted in the slaughter, or plundered the houses of the slain.

There were killed, in the beginning of this massacre, Salvius, one of the Tribunes of the People, together with Minucius and Annalis, both in the office of Prætors. Silicius Coronas, a person already mentioned, who being one of the Judges at the citation of Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius for the murder of Julius Cæsar, had ventured, in the presence of Octavius, to hold into view the ballot by which he acquitted them, and who, although at that time in appearance overlooked, now perished among the proscribed.

Many tragic particulars, in these narrations, seem to be copied from former examples of what happened under Marius, Cinna and Sylla, of persons betrayed by their servants, their confidents, and nearest relations, and with a treachery and cruelty, which seemed to increase with the corruptions of the age; but yet not without instances of heroic fidelity and generous courage, of which human nature itself ever appears to be capable, even in the most degenerate times.

The slave of one of the proscribed, seeing soldiers come towards the place where his master lay concealed, took the disguise of his clothes, and presented himself to be killed in his stead. Another slave agreed to personate his master, and being carried in his litter, was killed, while the master himself, acting as one of the bearers of the litter, escaped. Another having been formerly branded by his master for some offence, was easily suspected of a desire to seize this opportunity of being revenged; but he chose the opposite part. While his master fled, he

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put himself in the way to stop his pursuers, produced a head, which he had severed from a dead body in the streets, and passing it for that of his master; procured him the means of escape.

The son of Hosidius Geta, saved his father by giving out that he was already killed, and by actually performing a funeral in his name. The son of Quintus Cicero, though in the former part of his life, often on bad terms with his father and with his uncle, and often undutiful to both, ended his days in an act of magnanimity and filial affection; persevering in the concealment of his father, notwithstanding that the torture was applied to force a discovery, until the father, who was within hearing of what was in agitation, burst from his concealment, and was slain, together with his son ¹⁸.

Quintus Cicero, who perished in this manner, was for some time in concealment with his brother Marcus, having been in the country, or having escaped from the city on the first alarm of these murders. The brothers are mentioned as being at Tusculum together, and as setting out from thence for Astura, another of Cicero's villas on the coast, intending to embark for Greece; but as Quintus was entirely unprovided for the voyage, and his brother unable to supply him, they parted on the road in agonies of grief. In a few days after this parting. Quintus having put himself under the protection of his own son, received, though in vain, that striking proof of his filial affection and fidelity, which has just been mentioned.

¹⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

Marcus Cicero having got safe to Astura, embarked, and with a fair wind arrived at Circeii. When the vessel was again about to set sail, his mind wavered, he flattered himself that matters might yet take a more favorable turn; he landed, and travelled about twelve miles on his way to Rome¹⁹: but his resolution again failed him, and he once more returned towards the sea. Being arrived on the coast, he still hesitated, remained on shore, and passed the night in agonies of sorrow, which were interrupted only by momentary starts of indignation and rage. Under these emotions, he sometimes solaced himself with a prospect of returning to Rome in disguise, of killing himself in the presence of Octavius, and of staining the person of that young traitor with the blood of a man, whom he had so ungratefully and so vilely betrayed. Even this appeared to his frantic imagination some degree of revenge; but the fear of being discovered before he could execute his purpose, the prospect of the tortures and indignities he was likely to suffer, deterred him from this design; and, being unable to take any resolution whatever, he committed himself to his attendants, was carried on board of a vessel, and steered for Capua²⁰. Near to this place, having another villa on the shore, he was again landed, and being fatigued with the motion of the sea, went to rest; but his servants, according to the superstition of the times, being disturbed with pro-

¹⁹ Plut. in Cicerone.

²⁰ Ibid.

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digies and unfavorable prefages, or rather being sensible of their master's danger, after a little repose awakened him from his sleep, forced him into his litter, and hastened again to embark. Soon after they were gone, Popilius Lænas, a Tribune of the legions, and Herennius, a Centurion, with a party who had been for some days in search of this prey, arrived at the villa. Popilius had received particular obligations from Cicero, having been defended by him when tried upon a criminal accusation; but these were times, in which bad men could make a merit of ingratitude to their former benefactors, when it served to ingratiate them with those in power. This officer, with his party, finding the gates of the court and the passages of the villa shut, burst them open; but missing the person they sought for, and suspecting that he must have taken his flight again to the sea, they pursued through an avenue that led to the shore, and came in sight of Cicero's litter, before he had left the walks of his own garden.

On the appearance of a military party, Cicero perceived the end of his labors, ordered the bearers of his litter to halt; and having been hitherto, while there were any hopes of escape, distressed chiefly by the perplexity and indecision of his own mind, he became, as soon as his fate appeared to be certain, determined and calm. In this situation, he was observed to stroke his chin with his left hand, a gesture for which he was remarked in his moments of thoughtfulness, and when least disturbed. Upon the approach of the party, he put forth his head

from the litter, and fixed his eyes upon the Tribune with great composure. The countenance of a man so well known to every Roman, now worn out with fatigue and dejection, and disfigured by neglect of the usual attention to his person, made a moving spectacle even to those who came to assist in his murder. They turned away, while the assassin performed his office, and severed the head from his body.

Thus perished Marcus Tullius Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Although his character may be known from the part which he bore in several transactions, of which the accounts are scattered in different parts of this history, yet it is difficult to close the scene of his life, without some recollection of the circumstances which were peculiar to so distinguished a personage. He appears to have been the last of the Romans, who rose to the highest offices of state by the force of his personal character, and by the fair arts of a republican candidate for public honors. None of his ancestors having enjoyed any considerable preferments, he was upon this account considered as a new man, and with reluctance admitted by the nobility to a participation of honors. It was however impossible to prevent his advancement, so long as preferments were distributed according to the civil and political forms of the republic, which gave so large a scope to the industry, abilities, and genius of such men. Under those forms, all the virtues of a citizen were allowed to have some effect, and all the variety of useful qualifications were supposed to

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be united in forming a title to the confidence of the public; the qualifications of a warrior were united with those of a statesman, and even the talents of a lawyer and barrister, with those of a Senator and Counsellor of State. The law required²¹, that the same person should be a warrior and statesman, and it was at least expedient or customary, that he should be also a barrister, in order to secure the public favor, and to support his consideration with the People.

Cicero was by no means the first person at Rome, who with peculiar attention cultivated the talents of a pleader, and applied himself with ardor to literary studies. He is nevertheless universally acknowledged, by his proficiency in these studies, to have greatly excelled all those who went before him, so much, as to have attained the highest preferments in the commonwealth, without having quitted the gown, and to have made his first campaign in the capacity of Roman Proconsul, and above ten years after he had already exercised the supreme executive power in the state.

To the novelty of this circumstance, as well as to the novelty of his family-name in the list of officers of state, was owing some part of that obloquy which his enemies employed against him; and it may be admitted, that for a Roman he was too much a mere man of the robe, and that he

²¹ Ten or fifteen years military service was required, as a qualification for the higher offices of state. Vid. Polyb. ubi supra.

possibly may have been less a statesman and a warrior, for having been so much a man of letters, and so accomplished a pleader. C H A P.
IV.

Cicero, whether we suppose him to have been governed by original vanity, or by a habit of considering the world as a theatre for the display of his talents, and the acquisition of fame, more than as a scene of real affairs, in which objects of serious consequence to mankind were to be treated, was certainly too fond of applause, courted it as a principal object even in the fairest transactions of his life, and was too much dependant on the opinion of other men to possess himself sufficiently amidst the difficulties which occur in the very arduous situation which fell to his lot. Though disposed, in the midst of a very corrupt age, to merit commendation by honest means, and by the support of good government, he could not endure reproach or censure, even from those whose disapprobation was a presumption of innocence and of merit; and he felt the unpopularity of his actions, even where he thought his conduct the most meritorious, with a degree of mortification which greatly distracted his mind, and shook his resolution. Being, towards the end of his life, by the almost total extirpation of the more respectable citizens and members of the Senate who had labored with him for the preservation of the commonwealth, left in a situation which required the abilities of a great warrior, as well as those of the ablest statesman, and in which, even such abilities could not have stemmed the torrent which burst forth to over-

BOOK whelm the republic, it is not surprising that he
V. failed in the attempt.

Antony, at the same time that he gave orders for the death of Cicero, gave directions that not only his head, but his right hand likewise, with which he had written so many severe invectives against himself, should be cut off²², and brought to him as an evidence of the execution.

In the course of these murders, the heads of the slain, were usually presented to the Triumvirs, and by their orders set up in conspicuous places, while the bodies were cast into the river, or suffered to be exposed in the streets. Antony having more resentments to gratify than either of his colleagues, had the heads of his enemies brought to him in great numbers, even as he lay on his couch at his meals. That of Cicero was received by him with the joy of victory; he gazed upon it with singular pleasure, and ordered it, together with the hand, to be exposed on the rostrum from which this respectable citizen had so often declaimed, and where these mangled parts of his body were now exposed to the view of a multitude, that used to crowd to his audience²³. Fulvia too had her enemies on this occasion, and received the bloody tokens of their execution with a savage avidity and pleasure, which, to those who judge of propriety from modern customs, or who form their opinions of the sex from the manners of modern times, will scarcely

²² Plut. in Cicerone.

²³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

appear to be credible. When the head of Cicero, in particular, was brought to her toilet, with a peculiar and spiteful allusion to the eloquence, by which she herself, as well as her present and former husbands, had been galled, she is said to have forced open the jaw, and to have pricked and tore the tongue with the point of a bodkin, which she took from her hair.

In this horrid scene of revenge and cruelty, rapacity too had its share, many persons were proscribed, merely that their estates might be brought into the coffers of the Triumvirs; and many persons were threatened, to induce them to ransom²⁴ their lives with money. The list received frequent additions, and underwent many alterations, some names being scratched out, and others inserted, a circumstance, by which persons of any considerable property, as well as those who were obnoxious to any of the persons in power, were kept in the most anxious state of suspense and uncertainty. Many who were spared by the public usurpers of government, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of their private enemies, or to the avarice of those who wished to possess themselves of their property²⁵; and the names of many persons who had been thus slain, without any public authority, were afterwards inserted in the list of the proscribed, in order to justify the murder.

The troops were sensible of their own importance

²⁴ Dio Cass. lib. xlvii.

²⁵ Ibid. c. 12. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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on this occasion, and set no bounds to their pretensions. They solicited grants of the houses of persons reputed to be of the opposite party; or, being the only buyers at the frequent sales which were made of forfeited estates, obtained the possession of them by a kind of fictitious purchase. Not satisfied with the price which was paid them for the blood of the proscribed, or with the extravagant gratuities which they frequently received, they were, under various pretences, hastening to seize every subject that tempted their avarice. They intruded themselves into every family, and laid claim to every inheritance; they plundered at discretion the houses of the rich, or murdered indiscriminately those who offended them, or who stood in their way to the possession of wealth, they encouraged, by their example, fugitive slaves, and disorderly persons of every description, who, forming themselves into bands in the disguise of soldiers, engaged in the same practices, and perpetrated the same crimes.

The Triumvirs, whose principal object it was to secure the government, though noways interested in these extreme disorders, which far exceeded what they originally projected, not daring to restrain the military violence, lest it should recoil on themselves, left for some time the lives, as well as the properties of the People, entirely at the mercy of the troops; and citizens, who were reputed to have any effects in reserve, were fain to adopt some soldier as a son, in order to obtain his protection.

Such are the particulars which are recorded of
this

this famous transaction, which, however monstrous in those who gave rise to it, far exceeded the bounds of their original design. When the evil had in some measure spent its force, its authors were willing to divert the attention of the public, or to efface the melancholy impressions which remained. For this purpose, Lepidus and Plancus being about to enter on the office of Consul for the following year, on some slight pretence of a victory gained by the army in Gaul, entered the city in procession; but suspecting that the People were more inclinable to dejection than triumph, they directed the public, by a proclamation, to give on that day the demonstrations of joy which generally made part in the reception that was given to victorious generals²⁶.

The soldiers indeed were not wanting, as usual, in the petulant sarcasms and familiar abuse, in which they availed themselves of their present consequence. they sung, in their procession, scurrilous ballads, alluding to examples of parricide as well as murder committed by their chiefs in the late proscription; by Lepidus and Plancus, that of their own brothers; by Antony and Octavius, that of their nearest relations and friends²⁷. But at the disposal of such masters as these, every citizen who was likely to frown on their crimes, every person whose countenance gave signs of dejection or sorrow, every possessor of land, and every father of a family,

²⁶ Appian ut supra.

²⁷ De Germanis non de Gallis triumphant Consules.

B O O K V. had reason to tremble for their persons, their possessions, and the safety of their children.

Such was the aspect of affairs in Italy; but there were still some rays of hope, which shone from a distance. Not only Brutus and Cassius, in their provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but Cornificius in Africa, and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, still held up the standard of the republic, and offered places of refuge to its friends. Sextus Pompeius stationed ships on the coast to receive them, and published rewards for the rescue or protection of his father's party, and of those unfortunate remains of the commonwealth²⁸. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, though abandoned to destruction, was suffered to escape by the soldiers of the army, from a respect to himself or to their general. Lucius Cæsar was protected by his sister, the mother of Antony. Messala escaped to Brutus. Many others, whose names only are known, took refuge with one or other of the leaders, who were in condition to contend for the republic, or for the sovereignty of the empire.

U. C. 711. Lepidus and Plancus being entered on the office of Consul, had in charge from the Triumvirs, as the first object of their magistracy, the raising of money to supply the further exigencies of the war. Great sums had been expected to arise from the sale of the estates of the proscribed; but the purchase of such estates was justly reckoned invidious among a certain class of the People, who declined being

²⁸ Appian. ut supra. Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 12.

partakers in the spoils of innocent and respectable citizens; and it was dangerous for an ordinary citizen to appear to be rich, or in condition to buy: infomuch, that they who murdered the owner, were almost the only buyers of estates that were exposed to public sale; and the money which arose from these sales, fell greatly short of the expectations which had been entertained from them.

It was computed, that two hundred millions, Roman money, were yet wanting to supply the expence of the war²⁹. In order to make up this deficiency, the male sex chiefly having hitherto suffered by the public exactions, a contribution was levied from such women related to the opposite party as were supposed to be rich. At the same time persons of every description, whose estates exceeded one hundred thousand³⁰ Roman money, were commanded to give an account of their effects, that they might pay a tax equal to a fiftieth of their stock, and one year's income of their ordinary revenue³¹.

To enforce these exactions, hitherto unusual in Italy, much violence was necessary. The rents of houses in the city, and the produce of lands in the country were sequestered, leaving only one half for the subsistence of the owners. In this manner, great sums of money were levied from the peaceable part of the commonwealth; but as the Triumvirs

²⁹ Appian. ut supra.

³⁰ About eight thousand pounds.

³¹ Appian ut supra.

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had incurred a very heavy debt in their military operations, and in bounties to secure the troops in their interest, and had in prospect an arduous and expensive war against Brutus and Cassius, armed with the forces, and supported by the treasures of the East, the first sums which came in were far from being sufficient for their purpose. Additional exactions were made, under the denomination of fines or forfeitures, from those who were alledged to have given in a false state of their effects.

In imitation of the late sanguinary proscriptions, the Consuls published lists of all who had incurred this penalty, and ordered their effects accordingly to be seized. The inhabitants of the towns were obliged to find subsistence for the troops that were quartered on them, and the country was pillaged under pretence of a search that was made for the effects of rebels. The pay of the soldiers accumulating in the hands of their leaders, was considered, together with the advantages which they expected at the end of the war, as a pledge of their attachment and perseverance in the cause³².

Although few men were now left in Italy, who could forget their own fears so far as to think of the commonwealth, or who could be suspected of any design to restore the ancient government, yet this was made the ordinary ground of suspicion against those, whom the Triumvirs wished to oppress; and the desire to remove it, led all orders of men to affect a veneration for the memory of Cæsar, and

³² Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 14, 15.

to vie in their zeal to avenge his death. The anniversary of this event was made a day of mourning. A shrine was erected on the place of his funeral, and was declared to be a public sanctuary, and place of refuge even to criminals. The divine or monarchical honors which were thus paid to the memory of the dead, preserved in the minds of the People that disposition to endure a master which was thought favorable to the living usurpers, and which the division of power between them might have otherwise diminished³³.

Agreeably to the model of Julius Cæsar's arrangements, preparatory to his intended expedition into Asia, the Triumvirs, before the departure of Octavius and Antony on the service to which they were destined, fixed the succession to all the offices of state for some years. They had under their command an army of forty legions, which they now separated into two divisions³⁴. The one under the direction of Antony, was assembled on the eastern coast to be in readiness to cover Italy on that side, or to pass into Macedonia, and to carry the war against Brutus and Cassius into that province. The other was destined to remain in Italy, in order to secure the head of the empire, and oppose any attempts of the opposite party by sea from Sicily or Africa, which were still in their possession.

Sextus Pompeius, the last of the family of the great Pompey, in consequence of the resolutions

³³ Dio Cass. lib. xlv. c. 18 & 19.

³⁴ Appian ut supra.

B O O K V. passed in his favor soon after Cæsar's death, had set out from Spain as admiral of the Roman navy, and fixing his station in Sicily, had a numerous fleet, and mustered considerable land-forces³⁵. With these, in the war which immediately followed, he wished to co-operate with the combined armies of the two Consuls, Hirtius and Panfa; but was prevented by a doubt which arose, whether the veterans of Cæsar, who composed great part of that army, would act in concert with a son of Pompey³⁶? Upon the coalition of Octavius with Lepidus and Antony, he again became an exile, but continued in possession of Sicily, a province, which, by the present division of the empire, was comprehended in the lot of Octavius.

Cornificius, by commission from the Roman Senate, still held the province of Africa, and refused to surrender it to Sextus, an officer who had been sent by Octavius, in consequence of the same distribution, to take possession of it in his name. The dispute being likely to end in a war, the opposite parties applied to the neighbouring princes for aid; but the lieutenant of Octavius having his commission from the supreme authority then established at Rome, or being known to represent the triumphant party, was acknowledged by most of the African powers in alliance with the Romans. Being joined by their forces, he came to an action with his antagonist near Utica, and obtained a victory, in

³⁵ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 17.

³⁶ Cicer. Philip. xiii.

which Cornificius was killed. Lælius and Roscius, two officers of rank in the vanquished army, perished by their own hands³⁷. As many as could find shipping, escaped to Pompey in the island of Sicily.

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Soon after this event, Octavius, being desirous to dislodge the remains of the republican party from an island of so much consequence, sent Salvidienus with a fleet towards the straits of Messina, while he himself marched by land to Rhegium. A sea-fight soon after ensued, from which the fleets retired with equal loss. Salvidienus put into the harbour of Balanus to refit; and Octavius, being arrived at Rhegium, was meditating a descent upon Sicily, when he received pressing instances from Antony to join him at Brundisium, that they might endeavour to repel the storm which was gathering from the East, and which seemed to threaten their establishments in Italy with the greatest hazard³⁸.

Marcus Brutus, after fortune seemed to have declared for the republican party at Mutina, thinking himself at liberty to attend to the affairs of the East, and to support Cassius in his struggle for the possession of Syria, had passed with his army into Asia, in order to cut off all supplies from Dolabella, and to avail himself of the resources, for the pay and subsistence of the army, which were still to be found in that opulent province. While he was

³⁷ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 622, &c. Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 21.

³⁸ Appian. ut supra.

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employed in the execution of this design, the important events already mentioned took place in that quarter. Cassius had prevailed in Syria, got entire possession of the province, was acknowledged as general by all the armies which had been assembled by either party beyond the boundaries of Cilicia; and he was meditating an expedition into Egypt, to punish Cleopatra for the part she had taken against him in his contest with Dolabella, and to raise a contribution in her country for the farther support of the war.

The victory obtained at Mutina, though by an army which till then was reputed on the side of the commonwealth, made a great change to its prejudice, giving an opportunity to its enemies to declare themselves, and to unite their forces: inso-much, that by the coalition of Octavius and Lepidus with Antony, all the remaining armies of the West were joined, not only to subdue the capital, but to carry the war into Macedonia and Asia, the last retreat of the republican interest.

Brutus being informed of these circumstances, and of the late proscriptions, sent a message to Cassius, with pressing instances to divert him from his project against Egypt, and to turn his forces to the rescue of the commonwealth from the hands of tyrants, and to avenge the innocent blood which had been so copiously shed in Italy.

Upon these representations, Cassius, having left a legion to secure the possession of Syria, marched to the westward, and in his way raised large contributions for the support of the war. Among the

other measures which he took for this purpose, he surprised Ariobarzanes in his palace, and obliged him to deliver up the money then in his treasury. He pillaged the city of Tarsus; and, upon account of the support which the inhabitants of that place had given to Dolabella, subjected them for the future to a heavy tribute³⁹.

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About the middle of winter, Brutus and Cassius, with their armies, joined at Smyrna. These restorers of the republic had parted some months before at Pireus, one bound for Syria, the other for Macedonia; but more like exiles than Roman officers of state, without any men, shipping, or money, and under great uncertainty of their success, in obtaining possession of the provinces on which they had their several pretensions. Their affairs now bore a different aspect; they had a numerous fleet, and a mighty land-force, large sums of money already amassed, with the resources of a territory the most wealthy of any part in the Roman empire⁴⁰. Brutus proposed that they should without delay, transport their forces into Europe, and prevent the Triumvirs from getting any footing in Macedonia or Greece; but Cassius contended, that they had yet enemies or allies of doubtful fidelity in Asia, and that it would be imprudent to leave any such behind them, or to forego the treasure which they might yet command in that country, and which would enable them to reward and to encourage their armies.

³⁹ Appian. ut supra.

⁴⁰ Plut. in Bruto.

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Brutus determined by these considerations, accordingly marched into Lycia, while Cassius proceeded to execute a project he had formed for the reduction of Rhodes. His fleet being on their way to turn the Capes of Asia, in order to support him in this design, the Rhodians, trusting to their superior skill and reputation as mariners, assembled all the ships they could muster, and, near to the harbour of Lindus, ventured to engage those of Cassius; but being inferior in number and weight of ships, they were defeated with considerable loss. Cassius beheld the engagement from a high land on the continent, and as soon as the ships could be again refitted⁴¹, ordered the fleet to Loryma, a fortified harbour in the continent, over against the island of Rhodes; from thence he embarked his army. He himself, with eighty gallies, escorted the transports in their passage, landed on the island, and besieged the capital both by sea and by land.

The Rhodians having trusted entirely to the defence of their shipping, were unprovided of all things necessary to withstand a siege. Cassius by surprise, or by the treachery of a party within the walls, soon became master of the place, laid it under a severe contribution; and having left an officer of the name of Varus to command in the island, he returned to the continent with a great accession of reputation and wealth.

Brutus at the same time had forced the passes of the mountains leading into Lycia, and advancing

⁴¹ Appian. ut supra.

to Xanthus, summoned the town to surrender. This place had acquired much fame by the obstinate resistance of its inhabitants, or by the desperation they had shown, when forced, on former occasions, by Harpalus, the general of Cyrus, and by Alexander, in his way to the conquest of Persia⁴². Upon the approach of Brutus, they rased their suburbs, and removed every building which might cover the advances of an enemy. The walls were surrounded by a ditch fifty feet deep; and this being the first impediment which Brutus had to encounter, he began the attack with a continual labor to fill it up, and to effect a passage for his engines to the foot of the rampart. Having accomplished this object, he proceeded to cover his workmen with galleries, and to erect the engines usually employed in making a breach. He was opposed by the besieged in repeated sallies, in the last of which, his works were set on fire, and reduced to ashes.

In the mean time, two thousand men of the Roman army pursuing the party who had made this sally, entered the city along with them, and not being properly supported, suffered the gates to be shut, and themselves to be cut off from all relief. Being instantly surrounded by the inhabitants, numbers of them were killed, and the remainder forced into a temple, where they endeavoured to defend themselves.

This circumstance produced the most vigorous

⁴² Appian. ut supra, lib. iv.

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efforts on the part of the besiegers, to force the walls, that they might rescue their friends, or make a diversion in their favor. They applied scaling-ladders to the battlements, and forcing engines to the gates; and having at last made their way into the town, that they might at once terrify the inhabitants, and give notice of approaching relief to their own party, they raised a mighty shout as they entered the streets, and continued to urge their fury, in every direction, with fire and sword. The inhabitants, unable to resist this storm, retired to their houses, and there, determined to maintain their ancient fame, chose rather to perish by their own hands, than submit to the enemy. The father of every family, beginning with the slaughter of his wife and his children, proceeded to kill himself

While the people of Xanthus were employed in the execution of this purpose, Brutus hearing the cries of desperation and of murder, supposed that his troops had refused to give quarter, and were killing the wretched inhabitants of the place, without distinction of sex or age. In order to put the speediest stop to so horrid a scene, his first thought was to bring off the troops, by sounding a general retreat; but being informed that the people were perishing, not by the cruelty of his army, but by their own desperation, he ordered to be proclaimed a general freedom and protection to all the inhabitants; but so long as any considerable number of the citizens remained, the officers who came near them, even with an offer of quarter, were answered with threats, or, with showers of darts and of

arrows, obliged to keep at a distance. The temples and public buildings were, with great difficulty, saved from fire; but none of the inhabitants could be rescued, besides a few women and slaves.

Brutus, greatly afflicted with this piteous catastrophe, marched with reluctance towards Patara, where the inhabitants were supposed to be infected with the same desperate spirit; and, to prevent the necessity of such fatal extremities, sent a message to prevail on the people to surrender, and to accept of his protection. The example of Xanthus appeared much too atrocious to be followed, and they submitted to pay the contributions which were exacted from them.

Lentulus, at the same time, who commanded the fleet which had been employed in transporting the army of Cassius into the island of Rhodes, forced his way into the harbour of Andriaca, the port of Myra, by breaking the chain which was stretched across the entrance; and this place being reduced, the inhabitants of Lycia sent offers of submission, and of their service in the war, agreed to pay a certain tribute, and to join the fleet with their gallies. Lentulus being accordingly reinforced with a great accession of ships, set sail for Abydus, the shortest passage into Europe, where he was ordered to wait the arrival of the land-forces.

At the same time, Murcus, commanding another squadron belonging to Brutus and Cassius, upon a report that Cleopatra, with a numerous fleet, was at sea, to effect a junction with Octavius and Antony, had been stationed at the Cape of Tenarus to

BOOK V. confidence that was natural between officers and men engaged, as they were, in a common cause; enumerated their resources with the other advantages they possessed, and took notice of the punctual discharge of all former engagements, as the best security which could be given of a fixed intention to make a suitable provision for every soldier who should contribute to bring the war to a favorable issue. "The unjust reproaches of our enemies," he said, "we could easily disprove, if we were not, by our numbers, and by the swords which we hold in our hands, in condition to despise them. While Cæsar led the armies of the republic against the enemies of Rome, we took part in the same service with him, we obeyed him, we were happy to serve under his command. But when he declared war on the commonwealth, we became his enemies; and when he became an usurper and a tyrant, we resented, as an injury, even the favors which he presumed to bestow upon ourselves. Had he been to fall a sacrifice to private resentment, we should not have been the proper actors in the execution of the sentence against him. He was willing to have indulged us with preferments and honors; but we were not willing to accept, as the gift of a master, what we were entitled to claim as free citizens. We conceived, that, in presuming to confer the honors of the Roman republic, he encroached on the prerogatives of the Roman People, and insulted the authority of the Roman Senate.

"Cæsar cancelled the laws, and overturned the constitution

“ constitution of his country ; he usurped all the
 “ powers of the commonwealth, set up a monarchy,
 “ and himself affected to be a King. This our an-
 “ cestors at the expulsion of Tarquin, bound them-
 “ selves and their posterity, by the most solemn
 “ oaths, and by the most direful imprecations,
 “ never to endure. The same obligation has been
 “ entailed upon us as a debt by our fathers ; and
 “ we, having faithfully paid and discharged it,
 “ have performed the oath, and averted the con-
 “ sequences of failure from ourselves, and from
 “ our posterity.

“ In the station of soldiers, we might have com-
 “ mitted ourselves without reflection to the com-
 “ mand of an officer, whose abilities and whose va-
 “ lor we admired ; but, in the character of Roman
 “ citizens we have a far different part to sustain.
 “ I must suppose, that I now speak to the Roman
 “ People, and to citizens of a free republic ; to
 “ men who have never learned to depend upon
 “ others for gratifications and favors, who are not
 “ accustomed to own a superior, but who are them-
 “ selves the masters, the dispensers of fortune and
 “ of honor, and the givers of all those dignities
 “ and powers by which Cæsar himself was exalted,
 “ and of which he assumed the entire disposal. Re-
 “ collect from whom the Scipios, the Pompeys,
 “ even Cæsar himself derived his honors ; from
 “ your ancestors, whom you now represent, and
 “ from yourselves, to whom according to the laws
 “ of the republic, we, who are now your leaders in
 “ the field, address ourselves as your fellow-citizens

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“ in the commonwealth, and as persons depending
 “ on your pleasure for the just reward and retribu-
 “ tion of our services. Happy in being able to
 “ restore to you what Cæsar had the presumption
 “ to appropriate to himself the power and the dig-
 “ nity of your fathers, with the supreme disposal
 “ of all the offices of trust that were established for
 “ your safety, and for the preservation of your
 “ freedom; happy in being able to restore to the
 “ Tribunes of the Roman People the power of pro-
 “ tecting you, and of procuring to every Roman
 “ citizen that justice which, under the late usurpa-
 “ tion of Cæsar, was withheld, even from the
 “ sacred persons of those magistrates themselves.
 “ An usurper is the common enemy of all good
 “ citizens; but the task of removing him could be
 “ the business only of a few. The Senate and the
 “ Roman People, as soon as it was proper for them
 “ to declare their judgment, pronounced their ap-
 “ probation of those who were concerned in the
 “ death of Cæsar, by the rewards and the honors
 “ which they bestowed upon them; and they are
 “ now become a prey to assassins and murderers;
 “ they bleed in the streets, in the temples, in the
 “ most secret retreats, and in the arms of their fa-
 “ milies; or they are dispersed, and fly wherever
 “ they hope to escape the fury of their enemies.
 “ Many are now present before you, happy in your
 “ protection, happy in witnessing the zeal which
 “ you entertain for the commonwealth, for the
 “ rights of your fellow-citizens, and for your own.
 “ These respectable citizens, we trust, will soon, by

“ your means, be restored to a condition in which
 “ they can enjoy, together with you, all the honors
 “ of a free people, concur with you in bestowing,
 “ and partake with you in receiving, the rewards
 “ which are due to such eminent services as you
 “ are now engaged to perform ”.

Such is the substance of what we receive as the speech of Cassius on this memorable occasion, and, although we may not consider these compositions as the genuine record of what was spoken, yet as they contain the ideas and reasonings of times so much nearer than ours to the date of the transactions to which they refer, it is undoubtedly fit, and often instructive, to retain the argument on which they are founded. At the close of this speech, it is said that Cassius resumed the comparison of the forces and resources of the opposite parties, stated to his army their own equality by land, and their superiority by sea; the facility with which they were to be supplied with all necessaries; and that he concluded with a promise to pay an additional gratuity of fifteen hundred sesterces to each man ”.

After this solemnity, the army again began to advance; and while they marched in small divisions by the route of Ænos and Doriscus, Cimber, with a squadron of gallies, having a legion and a considerable detachment of archers on board, sailed towards the coast of Macedonia, with orders to search for a proper station within the mountains

⁴³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

⁴⁴ About 12 l.

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of Pangeus, a ridge which, stretching from Thrace southward, terminated in the bay of Strymon, opposite to the island of Thasus. The generals, upon their arrival on the river Nessus, found that the usual passage of the mountains at Symbolus was already seized by Saxa and Norbanus, who, with the first division of Antony's forces from Italy, had traversed Macedonia, and hastened to possess themselves of this pass, in order to stop the further progress of their enemies in Europe.

Here the eastern armies were accordingly stopped, and were likely to end their career in Thrace, while their antagonists continued in possession of Macedonia, and preserved the most convenient retreat for their shipping in the bay of Strymon. They were relieved, however, from this apprehension by Rufcopolis, a Thracian prince, who attended them, and who pointed out a different route from that which the enemy had occupied. Under this guide they marched three days among the mountains, and having crossed the summit, descended in the tract of a river towards Philippi, situated on the eastern boundary of the plains of Amphipolis. This march carried them into the rear of the enemy's station, and would have enabled them to cut off their retreat, if intelligence had not been carried to Saxa and Norbanus time enough to enable them to withdraw. These officers accordingly abandoned their post, fell back forty or fifty miles "

" 350 stadia,

to Amphipolis ; and having put this place in the best posture they could for defence, determined to await the arrival of Octavius and Antony.

Brutus and Cassius took post at Philippi, on the declivity of the mountains, near to the pass which Saxa and Norbanus had lately abandoned. They encamped about two miles [“] from the town on two separate eminences, about a mile [”] asunder. On their right was Philippi, covered by the mountains ; on the left an impassable marsh, which reached about nine miles from their camp to the sea [“]. In their front the country from Philippi, westward to Amphipolis, extending about forty or fifty miles, was flat and subject to floods and inundations of the rivers. The fleet was in harbour at Neapolis, near where the marsh, which covered the left of Cassius's camp, terminated in the sea ; and Cimber had fixed on that place as the port to which all their convoys should repair, and by which they expected to be plentifully supplied with necessaries from Asia, and the coasts of the Egean sea. They formed, at the same time, a magazine in the island of Thasus, out of the reach of the enemy, at which to lodge in safety the surplus of their provisions and stores.

Antony and Octavius had been employed, during the winter, in transporting their forces into Macedonia ; and having effected their passage,

[“] Eighteen stadia.

[”] Eight stadia.

[“] Seventy stadia.

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notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's fleet, their army advanced by rapid marches to the river Strymon, in order to preserve Amphipolis, and to carry the scene of the war as far as they could from Italy. Octavius had been taken ill, and remained behind at Dyrrachium. Antony, upon his arrival at Amphipolis, having found the town in a posture of defence, fixed upon it as a place of arms for the security of his heavy baggage and stores. From thence he advanced upon the flat country, through a march of some days, and pitched in sight of Philippi, within a mile of the enemy's stations.

It was the object of the Triumvirs to bring the war to a speedy issue, as they foresaw the difficulty of being long able, without any supply of provisions from the sea, to maintain so numerous an army by the sole resources of the neighbouring country. Brutus and Cassius, on the contrary, perceived their own advantage, and were determined to protract the war. They fortified their camps with great care, and joined them to each other; and to the town of Philippi on the one side, and to the morass on the other, with such works as formed a continued chain to cover their communication, for about twelve miles from the town of Philippi, to the port of Neapolis.

Antony's camp being on the plain, and in a low situation, was overlooked by the enemy, and subject to be overflowed by the torrents which fell from the hills. He made every possible effort to bring his antagonists to action, and by his forwardness in pressing them to a battle, raised the courage

of his own troops, and assumed, as is common with those who act offensively, the appearance of superiority. While he yet continued in this posture, Octavius, though not entirely recovered from his illness, joined him from Dyrrachium. They took two separate stations opposite to those of the enemy; Octavius opposite to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The number of legions, on both sides, were equal; but those of Antony and Octavius were not complete. In cavalry they were unequal; that of Brutus and Cassius amounting to twenty thousand, while that of Octavius and Antony was no more than thirteen thousand.

Antony and Octavius, in order to force their antagonists to a battle, or to cut off their communication with the sea, formed a design to pierce the morass, and to seize upon the heights beyond it on the left of Cassius's camp. In the work which they carried on for this purpose, they were covered by the reeds, which grew to a great height in the marsh; and in ten days, without being observed, by means of timbers, hurdles, and earth, which they sunk as they advanced, accomplished a passage, and sent in the night a party of their army to occupy the opposite heights, to make lodgements, and to intercept the communication of their antagonists with Neapolis, from which they received their daily supplies.

As soon as Brutus and Cassius perceived this advantage gained by the enemy, they took measures to recover it, and to open their own access again to the sea. For this purpose they, in their turn, tra-

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versed the morafs in a line which crossed the paffage which the enemy had made, and pierced their highway with a deep and impaffable ditch. Having, in this manner, cut off the enemy's parties that had paffed the morafs from any succours or fupplies from their main body, they were about to force them, when Octavius and Antony endeavoured to recover their paffage; and to divert the attention of the enemy from what they were doing in the marfh, drew forth their armies on the plain.

While Octavius was ftill confined by ficknefs, his lieutenant, or next in command, took his place in this movement, and advanced toward the intrenchment of Brutus. The light troops began to skirmish on the afcent of the hill. And notwithstanding it was the refolution of both leaders in the republican army not to hazard a battle, except in defence of their own intrenchments, the legions of Brutus obferving, from their parapet, what paffed between the advanced parties in front, were fo animated or incenfed, as not to be reftained. They accordingly quitted their lines, attacked the wing on which Octavius was fupposed to command, drove them back to their ground, and continuing the purfuit, even forced them in their camp. Octavius himfelf, having been carried from his bed to a litter, narrowly efaped falling into the enemy's hands.

On the other wing Antony likewise had advanced towards the camp of Caffius; but as he was obferved, at the fame time, beginning to work in the morafs, this movement of his army was confidered as no more than a feint to favor the

other design. Cassius, to divert him from his operation in the marsh, drew forth his army likewise; and having greatly the advantage of the ground, did not suppose that the enemy, in such circumstances, would venture upon a general action. In this however he was disappointed. Antony, seeing Cassius expose his front, discontinued his work in the morass, mounted the height in his presence, forced him to retire, even took and pillaged his camp; and thus showed, in his turn, what are the effects of an impetuous attack upon an enemy who are disposed to think themselves secure.

These separate actions, or the preparations which were made for them, had filled up the greater part of the day. It was already dusk, and the field, for the most part, was covered with clouds of dust; so that no one could see to a distance. Those who commanded on the right in both armies, having put those who were opposed to them to flight, thought that the event was decisive in their own favor. But Brutus and Antony being informed of what had passed on the other wings of their respective armies, neither attempted to keep the advantage he had gained. Disqualified by fatigue or surprise from renewing the contest, they passed each other on the plain, and hastened back to their former stations.

Cassius, after the rout of his division, with a few who had adhered to him, had halted on an eminence, and sent Titinius to the right, with orders to learn the particulars of the day on that side. This officer, while yet in sight, was met by a party

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of horse emerging from the clouds of dust on the plain. This party had been sent by Brutus to learn the situation of his friends on the left; but Cassius, supposing them to be enemies, and believing that Titinius, whom he saw surrounded by them, was taken, he instantly, with the precipitant despair which, on other occasions, had proved so fatal to the cause of the republic, presented his breast to a slave, to whom he had allotted, in case of any urgent extremity, the office of putting an end to his life. Titinius, upon his return, imputing this fatal calamity to his own neglect in not trying sooner to undeceive his general by proper signals, killed himself, and fell upon the body of his friend". Brutus soon after arrived at the same place, and seeing the dead body of Cassius, shed tears of vexation and sorrow over the effects of an action so rash and precipitant, and which deprived the republic and himself, in this extremity, of so necessary and so able a support. *This, he said, is the last of the Romans.*

The surviving leader of the republican party, in order to prevent the impression which the sight of a funeral so interesting was likely to make on the army, ordered the body of Cassius to be carried to the island of Thasus, and there privately interred. He himself spent the night in re-assembling the troops who had been dispersed, formed both armies into one body, and drew the whole into one camp. He still kept his ground at Philippi, and endeavoured

" Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 34. Appian lib. iv.

to support the courage of the troops, and to replace the activity and military skill of his unfortunate colleague. In his addresses to the army, he set forth the advantages they had gained as more than sufficient to compensate their losses. He represented the distressed condition of the enemy, who, having already exhausted the province of Macedonia in their rear, were obliged to bring their provisions from Thessaly, which was at a greater distance, and not likely to supply them so long. "The sea-ports," he observed, "being every where block-
 "ed up, and their convoys intercepted by a fleet
 "of above two hundred and sixty sail, the prospect
 "of what they must speedily suffer will make them
 "impatient for action. They will provoke," he said, "they will attempt to insult you; but this appearance of courage is a mere effect of despair.
 "Only wait the result of these circumstances, and
 "perseverance will render your victory easy." He supported these exhortations with giving the army full satisfaction in all their claims and pretensions, and with an additional gratuity of a thousand sesterces to each man^s.

The leaders of the other side, at the same time, were equally employed in what was necessary to palliate the sufferings, or to raise the hopes of their own army. Though not equally in condition to make present donations, they amply supplied this defect with expectations and promises. They declared their intention of giving an additional

^s About 8l.

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gratuity of five thousand sesterces to each private man ¹¹, five times as much to the Centurion, and the double of this sum to the Tribune. "Judge ye," said Antony, in his address to the army, "who has suffered most by the mutual pillage of yesterday? You, who have left all your effects behind you in Italy, or the enemy, who came to their ground loaded with the spoils of Asia? Their own general, by killing himself, has proclaimed your victory. We declare you victorious, by bestowing upon you the rewards of valor to which you are entitled. If the enemy choose to dispute your claim to these rewards, let them meet us again in the field. They shall have an opportunity to-morrow, and for some days to come; if they shrink and remain behind their intrenchments, I shall leave you to determine who is vanquished in the trial of force which we have had."

Antony and Octavius accordingly drew forth their army for many days successively, and were greatly embarrassed with the resolution which appeared to be taken by the enemy, not to hazard a battle. They began to suffer greatly for want of provisions, and felt the approach of winter, which, in a marshy situation, threatened them with growing inconveniences. Brutus, to hasten the effects of the season, had turned the course of a river from the hills, and laid under water part of the plain on which they encamped ¹². At the same time a

¹¹ About 40l.

¹² Zonaras, c. 19. p. 385.

recent calamity, which befel them at sea, increased these distresses, and diminished their hopes of relief.

On the same day on which the late battle was fought at Philippi, Domitius Calvinus had sailed from Brundisium, having on board of transports two legions, of which the Martia was one, with two thousand men of the Prætorian bands, and a body of horse, convoyed by some gallies, or ships of force. Being met at sea by the fleet of Brutus, consisting of a hundred and thirty sail, under Marcus and Ahenobarbus, a few of the headmost and best sailing ships escaped; but the remainder being surrounded had no resource but in the valor of the troops, who endeavoured to defend themselves with their swords, grappling and lashing their transports to the ships of the enemy; but in this attempt, being galled with missiles from the armed gallies, particularly with burning darts, by which some of the transports were set on fire, the others, to avoid the flames, were obliged to keep at a distance; and the greater part of them suffering extremely without being able to annoy the enemy, were sunk or destroyed. Calvinus himself, having been five days at sea, with difficulty escaped to Brundisium.

These tidings had their effect in both armies. In that of Brutus they inspired an unseasonable ardor, and a disposition to commit the cause of the party to the hazard of a battle; in that of Antony and Octavius, they impressed the necessity of a speedy decision. These leaders, to amuse their own troops, and to provoke the enemy, had seized in the night, a post on the declivity below the

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ground which was lately occupied by Cassius. They were suffered to make a lodgement upon it by Brutus, who had not any apprehension that he could be annoyed from a situation that was so much lower than his own. On the following day it appeared, that their intention in seizing this post was to cover a movement, which they proposed to make to the right on the edge of the morass; which they accordingly executed, and pitched again in two separate encampments. In this new position they were observed to sound the morass, and either intended a feint, or had a real design, by effecting a communication with the opposite side, again to cut off every intercourse of Brutus with his ships. But finding that all the heights on the opposite side were now secured against them by intrenchments, they dropped that intention, and endeavoured, by frequent alarms, and by exposing their own parties on the plain, to engage their antagonist in a general action.

Brutus, in the mean time, having secured his own communication with Neapolis, by a proper disposition of posts from his present encampment to the sea; and trusting that his enemies must, upon the approach of winter, be obliged to evacuate Macedonia, or to separate their army for the convenience of finding subsistence, persisted in his resolution to protract the war. In this conjuncture he wrote to his friend Pomponius Atticus in the following terms: "My object is secure; for either I
" shall, by my victory, rescue the Romans from
" the servitude into which they are fallen, or perish

“ in the attempt, and by dying myself escape from
 “ slavery. I have done my part, and wait for the
 “ issue in which public freedom or death is to fol-
 “ low. As for Antony, who has chosen to become
 “ the retainer of Octavius, rather than a sharer
 “ with us in the equal rights of a citizen, he has a
 “ different alternative, either now to perish with
 “ this young man, or, being the dupe of his ar-
 “ tifices, to become hereafter the subject of his
 “ government ”.

The troops of Brutus, however, could not be reconciled to this dilatory plan; they began to complain that a victorious army should be cooped up behind intrenchments, and should be insulted like women; even the officers, pretending to reason on the state of the war, censured their general for losing the opportunity, which so great an ardor in the army gave him of deciding the contest at a blow. They alledged, that even if the attempt should prove unsuccessful, he might still return to the execution of his defensive and dilatory operations.

Brutus was aware that the army, now under his command, having been trained up as mere soldiers of fortune, had no principle of attachment to either side; that it was necessary to consult their inclinations, as well as to flatter their hopes. He remembered that Cassius had been obliged, in many things, to abate the usual rigor of his discipline; and being himself of a mild and indulgent nature, he

“ Plutarch, in Bruto.

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yielded to those who were under his command; or not being able to stem the torrent which daily increased, he suffered the impatience of his own men to hurry him into a risk of all his fortunes. In about twenty days after the former action¹⁴, overcome by mere importunities, he drew forth his army on the declivity before his camp; the enemy, at the same time, according to their usual practice, were forming upon the plain; and both sides foresaw the approach of a general engagement.

Historians introduce their accounts of the last action at Philippi, with a detail of forms and solemnities, which, on other occasions, they have either omitted to mention, or which were not equally observed. As soon as the parole or word for the day was given over the different divisions of the respective armies, a single trumpet sounded the signal of battle; and was followed by a numerous band, which played an air, while the legions were dressing their ranks, and while the men were trying and handling their arms.

Brutus, being on horseback, passed along the lines of his own army, and exhorted his men not to quit the advantage of the ground on which they stood, by advancing too far to meet the enemy. "You have promised me a victory," he said, "you have forced me to snatch it now, rather than to wait for a more secure possession of it hereafter. It is your business to fulfil your own expectations and mine."

¹⁴ Plutarch, in Bruto.

On the other side, Antony and Octavius were happy in having their fortunes, hitherto desperate, brought to the chance of a battle. They put their army in mind, that this was what all of them wished: "You are poor and distressed," they said, "but in the enemy's camp you will find an end to your sufferings, and the beginning of riches and plenty. From us, who are your leaders, you may expect the rewards which are due to valor, and every effect of a disposition in us which is sufficiently liberal, but which victory alone will give us the power to indulge in the manner that we wish."

In these preparations the day being far spent, and noon about three hours already past, the trumpets on both sides having sounded a general charge, made a sudden pause, and sounded again, while both armies being in motion, struck upon their bucklers, advanced with a mighty shout, and, under a shower of missile weapons of every sort, closed with their swords. They continued long with all the fury that kindles in the use of short weapons, to struggle on the same spot. The places of those that fell in the first rank were continually supplied from the ranks behind them; and the place of action began to be choaked up with heaps of the slain. No stratagem is said to have been practised, or any accident to have happened, to determine the fate of the day on either side; but, after a severe contest, the army of Brutus began to give way, at first slowly, and almost insensibly; but being pressed with growing violence, they were thrown into

B O O K some confusion, and gave up the day without hopes
v. of recovery. In the disorder that followed, numbers, who fled to the camp, finding the entrances obstructed by the crowds that struggled for admission, despaired of safety there, and passed on to the heights in its rear. Octavius advanced to the enemy's camp to secure, or to keep in awe those who had taken refuge within it. Antony pursued those who were dispersed on the heights, and, at the approach of night, made the necessary dispositions to hinder those who were within the intrenchment, or those who were in the field, from rallying or assembling again; and employed parties of horse all night to scour all the avenues in search of prisoners.

Brutus himself being cut off from the camp and closely followed, Lucilius, one of his company, to give him time to escape, affecting to personate his general, and falling behind, was taken. This captive, supposed to be Brutus, the leader of the republican army, being conducted to Antony, to whom he was known, met with a reception not unworthy of his generous artifice. "You intended" said Antony to those who brought the prisoner, with a politeness which seemed to refute some of the imputations on his character, "to bring me an enemy, but you have brought me a friend".

Brutus, in the mean time, having in the dark passed a brook that ran between steep and rocky

^{ss} Plut. in Bruto.

banks covered with wood, made a halt, with a few friends, on the opposite side, as in a place of safety. Being yet uncertain of the extent of his loss, he sent an officer to observe the field, and with orders, if any considerable body of the army were yet together, to light a blaze as a signal or token of its safety. This officer accordingly made his way to the camp, and finding it still in the possession of his friends, made the signal; but lest it should not be observed, he attempted to return to his general, fell into the enemy's hands, and was slain.

As, from the signal now made, it appeared to Brutus and the small company who attended him, that the camp was still in possession of their own people, they thought of making their way thither; but recollecting that the greater part of the army were dispersed, they doubted whether the lines could be defended until they could reach them, or even if they should be maintained so long, whether they could furnish any safe retreat. While they reasoned in this manner, one of their number, who went to the brook for water, returned with an alarm that the enemy were upon the opposite bank; and saying, with some agitation, "We must fly." "Yes," replied Brutus, "but with our hands, not with our feet." He was then said to have repeated, from some poet, a tragic exclamation in the character of Hercules: *O Virtue! I thought thee a substance, but find thee no more than an empty name, or the slave of Fortune.* The vulgar, in their traditions, willingly lend their own thoughts to eminent

BOOK men in distress; those of Brutus are expressed in
 V. his letter to Atticus already quoted: *I have done my part, and wait for the issue, in which death or freedom is to follow.* If he had ever thought that a mere honorable intention was to ensure him success, it is surprising he was not sooner undeceived. Being now to end his life, and taking his leave of the company then present, one by one, he said aloud, That he was happy in never having been betrayed by any one he had trusted as a friend. Some of them, to whom he afterwards whispered apart, were observed to burst into tears; and it appeared that he requested their assistance in killing himself; for he soon afterwards executed this purpose, in company with one Strato and some others, whom he had taken aside.

This catastrophe, as usual, set the imaginations of men to work; and many prodigies and presages were believed to have preceded it. A spectre, it was said, had presented itself in the night to Brutus, when he was about to pass the Hellespont, told him it was his evil genius, and was to meet him again at Philippi; that here it accordingly again appeared on the eve of the late action.

Brutus was then about thirty-seven or forty years of age [“]. Next to Cato he, of all the Romans, was supposed to have acted from the purest motives of public virtue. Cassius had too much elevation of mind to endure a master; but Brutus was likewise too just to have usurped on the rights of his

[“] Liv. Epitome, lib. cxliv. Vel. Paternulus, c. 72.

fellow-citizens, even if they had been in his power. His character, however, in some respects, is questionable; and we may not, through the disguise of manners so different from our own, be able to ascertain the truth. Cicero, who is at once the principal author of his fame and of the exceptions which are taken against it, charges him with an uncommon degree of arrogance, and complains of the tone which, while yet a young man, he took even with himself¹⁷. He likewise relates some particulars of a loan which one Scaptius had transacted for Brutus in the island of Cyprus, and of which the payment was exacted under the proconsulate of Cicero, with circumstances of uncommon avarice and cruelty; and that in this he even presumed to demand that the Roman Proconsul should support him with all his authority. The loan was usurious, and, in exacting the payment of it, the Senate of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, had been surrounded by a party of cavalry, and shut up from the use of food. Cicero writes of this proceeding to Atticus, with every expression of blame and indignation; and yet Brutus, then a young man, continued to be held in the highest veneration and esteem by persons who were acquainted with these particulars. "If you should have no other advantage," says Atticus, in writing to Cicero, "from your present government,

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¹⁷ Ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21. & lib. vi. ep. 1. Ad me autem, etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, *ἄπολλυτον*, solet scribere.

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“ but the opportunity of gaining the friendship of Brutus, this alone will be enough.” And Cicero himself frequently mentions Brutus, after this transaction, with peculiar expressions of admiration and love ⁵⁸. So that we must either suppose Brutus to have been innocent of this extortion and cruelty committed by his agent in Cyprus, or that such proceedings, though contrary to law, were so much authorized by the practice of the times, as to stain the manners of the age much more than the characters of individuals. Of these conjectures, perhaps, both are in part to be admitted: the law of the republic forbidding the interest of money under the denomination of usury, inflamed, rather than prevented, the evil. Under this prohibition, the necessitous borrower was made to pay for the risk and obloquy which the lender incurred by transgressing the law, as well as for the use of his money. It was impossible to prevent what is necessary in the common course of things; persons having occasion for money must borrow; and persons having money will lend, in order to reap the benefit of it. It appears to have been customary with towns in the provinces, with corporations, and with dependent princes, to borrow money at exorbitant interest from the rich at Rome; and probably to employ that money in making presents to gain the powerful ⁵⁹. Pompey had great sums owing to him in Asia, and likewise received great presents from

⁵⁸ Vid. lib. de Claris Oratoribus, cap. 3, &c. &c. This book is expressly dated after the return of Cicero from Cilicia.

⁵⁹ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21.

thence. These we must admit to have been great abuses; but individuals are not always accountable for the abuses of their age, even where they have not corrected them in their own practice.

Brutus and Cassius, the last unsuccessful leaders of the republican party, even after it became a crime to mention their names with respect, were revered in secret by every person who had any memory or conception of the ancient republic, and will, in every age, be held in estimation by those who conceive merit as independent of fortune. Even Antony, it is said, when the death of Brutus was reported to him, expressed the highest respect for his memory, covered his remains with the imperial robe which he himself wore in the field, and ordered his obsequies to be performed with the highest marks of distinction and honors[“]; in this instance probably acting from policy, or, under all the vices of dissipation and profligacy with which he was charged, knowing how to seize the occasion of gaining public esteem, by splendid pretensions to generosity and candor.

Octavius, who far excelled his colleague in the ordinary arts of discretion and policy, is represented as greatly inferior to him in his behaviour on the present occasion. It is said that he ordered the head of Brutus to be carried into Italy, and exposed on Cæsar's tomb; and, among other proofs of insolence and cruelty which he gave in the present prosperous tide of his fortunes, that having among

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[“] Plut. in Antonio et Bruto.

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his prisoners a father and a son of the name of Florus, he ordered that one of them should be put to death, and that they should cast lots, or fight, to determine which should be spared. Under this cruel sentence, the father entreated that he himself might die. Octavius attended to see the execution; and, after the death of the father, likewise witnessed that of the son, who killed himself ⁶¹.

That part of the vanquished army which fled to the heights, being about fourteen thousand men, hearing of the death of the last of their leaders, surrendered themselves, and were equally divided between Octavius and Antony. Those who remained in the camp, or at any of the out-posts of the army, likewise laid down their arms. Of the persons of rank who partook in the wreck of their party at Philippi, some escaped by sea, and joined Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, now the sole refuge of those who adhered to the commonwealth. Others killed themselves, or in the late action had refused quarter, and fought till they were slain. Among the first were Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, afterwards the wife of Octavius. Among the second were two young men of distinguished names; Cato, the son of him who died at Utica, and Lucius Cassius, nephew of the late general. Labeo, with great deliberation, prepared a grave for himself in his tent, wrote to his family at Rome, gave directions about his affairs, and then submitted

⁶¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 14. Dio Cass. dates this particular after the battle of Actium.

himself to a person whom he had retained to put an end to his life. CHAP.
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It appears to have been a point of honor among the Romans of this age, to perish by their own hands rather than by that of their antagonists, otherwise they could have easily, when fortune appeared to have declared against them, forced the enemy to bestow that death which they afterwards obtained with great reluctance from their friends; and perhaps, in forcing matters to this extremity, they might have turned the fortune of battle. Cæsar seems to have owed his victory, on some occasions, to efforts of this sort, and his party in general prevailed by their perseverance under checks and difficulties, as much as by the advantage they took of their victories “.

“ See the History of the Campaigns on the Segra at Dyrrachium, and in Africa.

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Immediate Consequences of the Event at Philippi. — New Partition of the Empire made by Octavius and Antony. — Their Separation. — Progress of Octavius at Rome. — His friends Mæcenas and Agrippa. — Alarm and Distress in Italy on the Disposition of the Inhabitants to make way for the Troops. — Jealousy of Fulvia and Lucius Antonius. — Blockade and Reduction of Perusia. — Progress of Antony in Asia. — His Stay at Alexandria. — Return to Italy — Accommodation with Sextus Pompeius. — Return of Octavius and Antony to Rome. — Their Policy.

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AMONG the immediate consequences of the late event at Philippi, is mentioned the death of Porcia, the wife of Brutus, and the daughter of Cato. Being suspected of an intention to kill herself, watched by her servants, and anxiously precluded from the ordinary means of effecting that purpose, she swallowed burning coals, and expired. This was said to have happened on hearing of her husband's death; but Plutarch cites a letter of Brutus, extant in his own time, from which it appeared that this catastrophe preceded the death of Brutus, and was imputed to the negligence of her

servants, who attended her in the delirium of a fever ¹. C H A P.
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By the battles which had been fought in different parts of the empire, by the late massacre in Italy, and by the event of the war at Philippi, the last pillars of the commonwealth seemed to be removed, or but a few of its members were left who had any zeal for its preservation. Octavius and Antony, upon the total and decisive victory they had gained, without paying any regard to the pretensions of Lepidus, made a new partition of the empire. Octavius, to his former lot, had an addition of Spain and Numidia; Antony that of the farther Gaul and the province of Africa ². It was agreed between them, that Antony should prosecute the remains of the war in the East, and raise the necessary contributions to enable them to fulfil their engagements to the army: that Octavius should return into Italy, conduct the war against Sextus Pompeius, repress the designs of Lepidus, in case he should be dissatisfied with the present arrangement, and in proper time settle the veterans on the lands which had been allotted to them. These articles were committed to writing, and the ratifications exchanged. Antony having received from Octavius a reinforcement of two legions, departed for Asia, and Octavius set out on his return to Rome.

When accounts of the final action of Philippi

¹ Plut. in Bruto.

² Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. i.

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were received in the city, a thanksgiving was ordered; and, instead of being limited to fifty or to sixty days, as in the late decrees which had past in honor of Julius Cæsar, this festival was now to be continued for an entire year. In proportion to the approaches which the republican party made to its entire extinction, the few who remained of it carried an affectation of joy that kept pace with their real sorrow. Their fears broke forth in profuse expressions of pretended attachment and zeal for the honor of those whom they dreaded.

Under such an aspect of gladness, covering extreme anxiety or terror, the pacific inhabitants of Italy looked for the arrival of an army which was to be gratified with their richest possessions. They remembered what had passed at former military entries into Rome, and they anticipated the sufferings which were to be expected from a young man who had, during some time, and from mere policy, assumed an air of moderation, and employed every artifice to forward his purpose; but in proportion as he became secure of his end, threw off his original mask, and concurred in *usurpations the most bloody* of any that had been known in the history of mankind. Octavius being detained by sickness on his way to the city, these gloomy apprehensions gained force from delay. It was supposed that he deferred his arrival only while he adjusted his plan, or took measures to render its effects more certain. Every one exaggerated the evil, but no one thought of a remedy. Such was the present state of a

helpless Nobility and People, the remains of a commonwealth, long accustomed to dominion, retaining their haughtiness while they lost their vigor, long desirous of power, but unable to sustain the weight of a free constitution. C H A P.
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Octavius gave notice to the Senate, that his coming was delayed by sickness, accepted the decree of a continued thanksgiving for the late victory obtained at Philippi, but desired it might be understood, that this honor was conferred on account of the exemplary justice he had done on the assassins of his father. The cunning with which he occasionally dropt this pretence, or with which he resumed it, as the motive of all his pursuits, forms a striking part in his character. He at one time co-operated with the conspirators, and declared it to be his intention, in conjunction with them to restore the republic. He accordingly promoted the resolutions which were taken at Rome in favor of Decimus, as well as Marcus Brutus and Cassius; he promoted the election of Casca into the office of Tribune; he raised an army to support them against Antony, and took into his councils the most vehement partisans of the Senate. “*Even Servius Galba, holding the very dagger with which he murdered Caesar,*” said Antony to him, in his letter during the siege of Mutina, “*is now employed in your camp*.” As he often, however, on former occasions, courted the army, by affecting a pious

* Cicer. Philip. Antony to Octavius and Hirtius.

BOOK intention to avenge his father's death, so he now
V. recurred to the same pretence, as the most likely to counterbalance the favor that was paid to the memory of Brutus and Cassius, and the general regret which attended the catastrophe of the last scene that was acted in behalf of the commonwealth.

U. C. 712. About this time, Octavius was known to have
L. Antonius, in his service two officers of distinguished merit, Mar-
P. Servilius cus Vipfanius Agrippa and Caius Cilnius Mæcenas;
Vatica Isau- both well qualified in their respective parts to sup-
ricus. port him in the pretensions he had formed on the empire. The first, by his courage and military abilities, was qualified to supply or to conceal his defects as a soldier; the second, by his industry, his temper, his choice of friends, and his fitness to soften the manners of the times, by diverting the minds of men from objects of public distress to the elegant and amusing occupations of literary genius, well qualified to smoothe all difficulties in the way of his civil administration. Although it had not yet appeared in what degree Octavius was to commit his affairs to such able hands, his discernment in choosing them might be considered as the preface of a fortune not depending on accidents, but founded in a real ascendant of understanding and judgment.

Upon the arrival of the young Cæsar at Rome, he gave assurances to the Senate of his intention to avoid all unnecessary acts of severity *. But

* Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 3.

the first object of his administration being to settle the veterans on the possessions which they had been made to expect at the end of the war, he was very soon led into a scene of extreme violence, and involved in great difficulties.

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At the formation of the Triumvirate the army had been flattered with the hopes of being settled on the most fertile lands, or in the wealthiest cities of Italy. In order to fulfil these expectations, it was necessary to dispossess the ancient inhabitants; and as this was to be done without any pretence of forfeiture, or delinquency of any sort, the unhappy sufferers pleaded, that the lands intended for the army should be taken by lot, or in equal proportions, and in every part of the empire. But the soldiers were absolute, and not to be satisfied but by immediate possession of the lots which had been actually assigned as the reward of their services. A general order was accordingly signed for the present occupiers of those lands to remove. The victims of this severity repaired to Rome in entire families; persons of every sex, age, and condition crowded the streets, took shelter in the temples and other places of public resort, and filled the city with complaints and lamentations'. "The ancient

^s Publius Virgilius Maro is said to have been of this injured train. Having had a small property in land near Mantua, he was stripped of it to make way for an officer of the legions; a wrong to which he so tenderly alludes in his eclogue (*Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva, nos patriam fugimus*). But being recommended to Mæcenas by Alinius Pollio, who commanded in that part of Italy, he

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“ inhabitants of Italy , citizens of Rome , ” they said,
 “ were stripped of their possessions , and turned out
 “ to perish with their children , to make way for
 “ adventurers who had subverted the laws of their
 “ country , and who were to perpetuate the milita-
 “ ry usurpation they had established. The same
 “ violent hands which had stripped the Roman
 “ People of their sovereignty , were now to be
 “ let loose on their property. The innocent , who
 “ had taken no part in the late troubles , were to
 “ be sacrificed merely , because , their possessions
 “ suited the conveniency of those who had already
 “ brought so many evils on the commonwealth.
 “ They had been promised protection from this
 “ party , but were now to suffer from their pre-
 “ tended protectors and friends , greater evils than
 “ any conquered province had ever endured from
 “ the worst of its enemies. ”

To these complaints both the army and its lead-
 ers were equally insensible , and proceeded , in par-
 ticular instances , to acts of violence , which the
 execution of their general purpose did not require.
 They kept the minds of the people in suspense by
 their indecision in choosing their lots ; by quitting
 those which were at first assigned , in order to ex-
 change them for others ; and , by leaving particular
 persons without any regular grant or assignment , to
 make free with such lands as suited their conve-

obtained , from the respect that was due to his fine genius ,
 a protection which humanity and justice owed equally to every
 other person that was involved in this calamity. — Appian de
 Bell. Civ. lib. v.

niency.

niency. The leaders were obliged to connive at what they could not restrain, and gave way to a violence to which they owed the possession of their power.⁶

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The army now considering the lands of Italy as their property, looked upon every person inclined to protect the ancient inhabitants as their enemy, resented every delay that was made in gratifying their desires, and were equally insolent to their own officers as they were to the People. A party being assembled in the Campus Martius to receive their dismissal and their assignments of land; and having some time waited for Octavius, from whom they expected satisfaction in these particulars, became impatient and clamorous, laid violent hands on Nonius, a Centurion, who endeavoured to pacify them, and even threw him into the river, where he perished. They afterwards dragged the dead body on shore, and placed it on the way by which their general was to pass, as a warning, that he himself should not slight their displeasure. Octavius being informed, before he came abroad, of this menacing insult which had been offered to his authority, saw the necessity of not appearing to be moved. He passed the dead body without seeming to observe it, made the intended distribution of land to the troops; and affecting to consider the murder of Nonius as the effect of a private quarrel, in which he was to take no part, left this dangerous meeting with an exhortation, that

⁶ Appian. lib. v.

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they should *not weaken their own cause by quarrelling among themselves.*

The cohorts which Octavius retained for the ordinary guard of his own person, treated him, on occasion, with equal disrespect. As an instance of this sort, it is mentioned, that one of their body having, at the public theatre, seated himself on the Equestrian bench, and the audience being scandalized at this act of presumption, the soldier was removed by order of his general; but his companions being made to believe that he was carried away to be put to death, placed themselves in the way of Octavius, as he passed from the theatre, and, with clamors and threats of instant revenge, demanded their fellow-soldier to be restored. Having prevailed in this particular, they called upon him to declare what usage he had received, and when they were told by himself that no violence had been offered to him, they alledged that he was hired to conceal the truth, and to betray the honor of the army, and were scarcely to be appeased by his repeated asseverations to the contrary.

In these dangerous times, enormities which were committed by disorderly persons of any description being imputed to the soldiers, were suffered to pass with impunity. Robbery and murders became frequent, and the city of Rome itself as well as the provincial towns, was infested by persons who, either from necessity, or from the licence of the times, subsisted by rapine. No property was safe, and the condition of persons of all parties equally insecure. At Rome the rent of houses fell to a

fourth, and whole streets appeared to be deserted'. CHAP. V.

In this distracted scene, nevertheless, there were persons who envied Octavius the hateful pre-eminence which he seemed to enjoy. Among these Manius, the person intrusted with the affairs of Marc Antony, Lucius his brother, now in the office of Consul, and Fulvia his wife, aspiring to a share of the government, became impatient of an administration from which they thought themselves unfairly excluded. Not only L. Antonius, in the capacity of Consul, but the others also, in right of the absent Triumvir, thought themselves entitled to more consideration than they now enjoyed.

The power of distributing the lands and other rewards to the army, it was observed, gave Octavius a signal advantage over his colleague, and fixed the expectations of all men upon him alone. By these means he filled Italy with his own retainers and friends; and Fulvia complained that Marc Antony should be thus deprived of the fruits of a victory, which had been obtained chiefly by his conduct and valor. She appealed to the legions, presented herself at their quarters, and, with her children in her arms, implored, what she was pleased to call, a matter of right in behalf of her husband.

In this manner, persons representing the absent Triumvir endeavoured to divide the party, and to add to the scene of political confusion already

⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 9.

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subsisting, a breach and opposition of interest among those who commanded the army. The country, at the same time, suffered from the interruption that was given by the fleets of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sextus Pompeius, from the opposite ports of Illyricum and Sicily, to the importation of corn and other necessaries, and this circumstance, joined to the uncertainty of property, and the other causes which interrupted industry, completed the distresses of Italy.

The People, although they were willing to submit to any government, were not likely to be long able to endure their present sufferings. The friends of Antony endeavoured to load Octavius with the blame of these evils, and thought this a favorable opportunity to wrest the government out of his hands. They found fault with the provision he had made for the army as too scanty; and they joined in the complaints that were made by the sufferers, who were dispossessed of their property to make way for the soldiers. They affected a design to restore the republic; and Lucius Antonius, in the character of Roman Consul, called upon the remaining friends of the commonwealth to appear in support of their legal magistrate. He professed his intention to make war even on his own brother, as well as on Octavius, if he should persist in his present usurpations, or should attempt to obstruct the restoration of the laws. But, notwithstanding his professions to this purpose, he himself, affecting to believe that his person was in danger, put his attendants under arms, and paraded the streets at

the head of a military force; a measure that was ever considered at Rome as the intimation of a design to usurp the government. C H A P.
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Octavius, greatly provoked by these attacks which were made upon him by the representatives of Antony, repudiated the daughter of Fulvia, whom, at the formation of the Triumvirate, he had betrothed merely to serve a political purpose, and whom he now returned to her family, with express declarations of his never having had any commerce with her as his wife. Fulvia, affecting to consider this insult as a prelude to greater injuries, appealed to Lepidus in behalf of his absent colleague, and withdrew to Præneste, whither great numbers of all ranks and conditions, both civil and military, flocked to her standard. Here she put herself at the head of an army, held regular councils, and, with a sword by her side, gave the parole, and frequently harangued the troops.

In these hasty advances to a rupture, representations to Antony, and preparations for war, were equally made on both sides. It was yet uncertain how the army might divide between the parties. Octavius was likely, by his presence, to command the superior number; but great part of the forces now in Italy had been levied in the name of Antony, and still, according to the custom of those armies, bore his name on their shields. The two legions which were to have been transferred to Octavius, to replace those which he had given to Antony in Macedonia, were still retained by Lucius Antonius for his brother. The provinces of Gaul, with

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considerable armies, ready to march into Italy, were under the government of Ventidius, of Plancus, and of Asinius Pollio, who were the adherents of Antony, and likely to espouse his cause. Antony himself, by the superiority of his military character, had, in the course of his joint operations with Octavius, greatly surpassed him, and had acquired a high degree of reputation with the troops. It was, therefore, necessary for his rival to proceed with great caution, and not rashly to draw upon himself, in this quarrel, the weight of his colleague's authority, nor to disgust the army, by appearing to be the aggressor in a war between their leaders.

Such disputes were certainly in general disagreeable to the army, who having subdued the republic, hoped, now at their ease, to divide its spoils. It was necessary, therefore, for Octavius, if a war should ensue, to make it appear to be the work of his enemies. For this purpose he formed at Rome a council of the principal officers; proposed that they should make inquiry into the grounds of the present dissension, and oblige those who were in fault to submit to their decrees.

Fulvia and her partisans called this military convention by a ludicrous name, which we may translate *the Ammunition Senate*⁸, and refused to submit their cause to so new a tribunal.

The army in general was alarmed at the prospect of seeing the civil war renewed. Two legions that had first served under Cæsar, and afterwards under

⁸ Senatus Caligatus.

Antony, being now quartered at Ancona, sent a deputation to Rome, with entreaties that the parties would avoid a rupture. They were referred by Octavius to L. Antonius, who, he said, was the aggressor; and proceeding, attended by a great concourse of people to Præneste, where the heads of the opposite party were assembled, beseeched them to spare the republic, already too much afflicted with civil dissensions. They were told for answer, "That Octavius was the aggressor; that while his
" colleague was raising money for the benefit of the
" army, he was artfully changing the inhabitants
" of Italy, and occupying all the important stations of
" the empire with his own retainers and creatures;
" that the money, which, under pretence of sup-
" porting the war against Sextus Pompeius, had
" been taken from the treasury, was by Octavius
" diverted from its use, and employed in corrupt-
" ing the troops of his friend; that the estates of
" the proscribed, under the pretence of sales, at
" which, besides the creatures of Octavius, there
" was no man to purchase, had been actually em-
" ployed by him for the same purpose; that, if he
" really meant to avoid a rupture, he ought to do
" nothing, without consulting the friends of his
" colleague, who were equally entitled with him-
" self to share in the fruits of their common victory
" obtained at Philippi. But I know," said Lucius Antonius, the falshood of Octavius; "while he
" amuses you with the hopes of a negociation and
" treaty, and with professions of having nothing
" at heart besides your interest, he is arming himself

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“ with the utmost diligence , and has reinforced
“ the garrison of Brundisium , with an evident
“ purpose to obstruct the return of his colleague,
“ and your principal friend, into Italy.”

Octavius being in possession of the capital , in order that he might appear to have, not only the authority of government , but the countenance likewise of all the more respectable citizens of Rome on his side, called an assembly of the Senate, at which he invited the Equestrian order to attend. He represented to this assembly the calamities that were now impending over Italy from the jealousy and restless ambition of a few persons, who called themselves the friends of Marc Antony , and he exhorted them with one accord to join him in averting these evils. He accordingly obtained a deputation to be sent to Præneste , where the heads of the opposite party were still assembled, to remonstrate against their procedure. This measure however had no other effect , besides that which Octavius proposed by it, that of transferring to his enemies the blame of all the evils which were expected to follow.

An expedient was proposed, more likely to prevent these evils, by a conference to be held by the military officers of the opposite sides, who, perceiving themselves about to be involved in a quarrel, were extremely averse to risk all the advantages they had already obtained, without any prospect of gain. This expedient of a military congress was suggested by the officers themselves , and was readily embraced by their leaders. Gabii being half

way from Præneste to Rome, was fixed upon as the place at which they should meet; but on the day on which they were to open their conference, parties of horse having been, from some remains of distrust, without any concert, sent forward on both sides to escort their deputies, and mutually to observe each other, they met unexpectedly on the highway, and coming to blows, numbers were killed or wounded, and the intended convention was dropped.

Each of the parties, in consequence of this accident, published a manifesto, and began to assemble in a hostile manner. Lucius Antonius had ordered new levies, and with these, joined to the troops already on foot, under the authority of his brother, and who were now stationed in the nearer province of Gaul, under Calenus, he proposed to assemble an army of eleven legions.

Octavius ordered six legions under Salvidienus, from Spain; and having already four in Italy, with a considerable body of troops, which, under the designation of Prætorian bands, made the ordinary guard of his person, he took the field to prevent the designs of his enemies.

The nobility and citizens of rank were divided; but the greater part, who had yet any hopes of seeing the civil government restored, thought themselves safer in the party of the Consul Lucius Antonius, than in that of Cæsar; and accordingly repaired to his camp.

Sextus Pompeius, on the eve of a contest thus likely to divide his enemies, might have made him-

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self of considerable consequence, or might have obtained advantageous terms from either party. His forces had been greatly augmented by the accession of two legions, the remains of the wreck at Philippi, that had escaped with Murcus. He might have got a footing in Italy, and, by the favorable disposition of many who felt the oppression of the present government, or dreaded the future effects of its tyranny, might have held the balance between the contending parties. He, nevertheless, either under the notion of leaving his enemies to waste their strength against each other, or not having a sufficient genius for such arduous enterprises, suffered the opportunity to escape, and contented himself with endeavouring to secure his possession of Sicily and Sardinia, which he hoped to retain as a patrimony independent of Rome.

Ahenobarbus, the other remaining leader or representative of the republican party, who was still hovering on the opposite coast of Italy with the remains of the fleet, which he had commanded under Brutus and Cassius, made frequent descents, and plundered the recent settlements of the veterans. He even forced his way into the harbour of Brundisium, took some gallies belonging to Octavius, and laid waste the adjacent country; but, while he was acting in a manner equally hostile to both parties, the forces of the Triumvirs, indifferent to every external enemy, began to assemble against each other. Lepidus declared for Octavius, and these two having left the city together, Lucius Antonius presented himself at the gates, and was

admitted. Having assembled the people, he declared that his intention was to restore the republic. His brother, he said for the future desired no illegal powers, and was ready to join in calling Octavius and Lepidus to account for the tyranny they had lately exercised against the ancient inhabitants of Italy.

In the mean time, the event of this contest appeared to depend on the movements that were making on the side of Spain and Gaul. Salvidienus being on his march to join Octavius, Asinius and Ventidius hung on his rear. Agrippa, on the part of Cæsar, passed the Po in order to join Salvidienus; and having succeeded in this design, they obliged Asinius and Ventidius to remain on the defensive, expecting the arrival of Lucius Antonius, who was on his march to support them.

When Antonius came to a pass of the Apennines, on the Flaminian way, he found the gorges of these mountains already occupied by Agrippa and Salvidienus; not attempting to force them, he fell back to Perugia, and sent orders to Ventidius to join him by some other route; but Octavius having got possession of Sentinum and Nursia, two posts on the opposite sides of the mountains, effectually prevented the junction of his enemies, assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of Perugia, and invested Antonius in that place. He drew a line of circumvallation, extending about fifty stadia, or six miles, and placed his army between two parallels, equally strong, against any attempts that were likely to be made from the garrison, or from the field.

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Lucius Antonius being thus shut up in Perusia during the autumn, and part of winter, and all the efforts of Fulvia, Asinius, Ventidius, and Plan-
cus, to succour him being ineffectual, he was re-
duced, from want of provisions, to the greatest ex-
tremities, and offered to capitulate.

Octavius, in accepting this offer, with his usual address, took measures to divide his enemies, or to sow the seeds of future jealousy among them. He affected to distinguish the regular troops, which had been formed to serve under his colleague Marc Antony, from the Roman citizens, or rather sup-
posed disorderly persons, who had taken a part in this insurrection. The first, from pretended re-
spect to their leader, he allowed to withdraw with honor, the others he required to surrender at dis-
cretion. In complying with this requisition, L. Antonius himself set the example, went forth in person to receive the victor's commands, and being courteously treated, alledged his duty as a civil ma-
gistrate, and his desire to restore the commonwealth, as an apology for his conduct, and implored mercy for those who had embarked with him in the same design. Octavius replied, "That as his enemies
" had surrendered themselves at discretion, he
" should make no remarks on the truth of their
" plea, nor talk of conditions, where he was not
" to be bound by a treaty; that he must now con-
" sider not only what his enemies had merited, but
" what was due to himself." Having found among his prisoners some of the veterans who had served under Cæsar, he was disposed to have ordered them

all to be executed ; but observing that this measure was extremely offensive to his own army, he confined his severities to the Roman citizens, who, he pretended, had on this occasion acted with equal animosity to his army, and to himself. To avenge the supposed injury that was done to the army, all persons of the civil description, found under arms, were put to death. Of these Cannutius, C. Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others, are mentioned by Appian⁹. This Cannutius is said by Dio Cassius to have been the Tribune, who presenting Octavius to his first audience from the People, contributed so much to the rise of his fortunes.

The greater part of the executions were performed in the presence of Octavius, and in the manner of sacrifices to the manes, or to the divinity, of Julius Cæsar. In this form, however detestable, they were supposed, in that age, to carry an aspect of piety, which sanctified the cruelty with which they were ordered, and with which Octavius himself witnessed the scene. Four hundred of the Senatorian and Equestrian order, are said, by Dio Cassius and Suetonius, to have perished in this manner¹⁰. The magistrates and council of Perugia, being separately ordered to execution, implored for mercy, but had one general answer, *You must die*¹¹. The place itself, whether by the desperation of its inhabitants, or by the outrage of

⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

¹⁰ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 14.

¹¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

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those who were now become masters of it, was set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The country around being deserted, or laid waste with fire and sword, and cleared of its former possessors, became a prey to such followers of the army as chose to occupy it ¹².

At the date of this odious transaction, Octavius was no more than twenty-three years of age; and though, in former examples of cruelty, his youth may have been over-ruled or misled by the party-rage of his colleagues, yet, in this instance, he himself betrayed a merciless nature, in the effects of which he had no man to share, or to divide the blame ¹³; and the world began to dread more from the separate power which he was about to establish, than they did from the joint usurpation, in which he bore a part, with persons, of whom the one was contemned for want of capacity, and the other detested for his profligate manners.

U. C. 713.
L. Dom.
Calvinus,
Asinius
Pollio.

Before the breaking out of this war in Italy, Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio had been destined Consuls; and the year following that, in which these transactions passed, is accordingly dated or inscribed with their names. They were prevented however, by this breach, between the adherents of Antony and of Cæsar, from taking the formal possession of their office.

Pollio holding his commission from Marc Antony, although he had no opportunity to act, was un-

¹² Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 14 & 15.

¹³ Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvi.

derstood to join with the brother in the late division of their parties. While the war continued, being stationed in his province in the district of Venetia, he carried on a correspondence with Ahenobarbus, and representing Lucius Antonius, with his title of Roman Consul, as legal head of the republic, endeavoured to engage that officer on his side; but, in the event of the war, this correspondence was broke off, and the military adherents of Antony being dispersed or cut off, his relations and retainers fled in different directions.

Fulvia, escorted by three thousand horse, took the road to Brundisium, and from thence, with Plancus, and some other attendants, under the convoy of five gallies, sailed to Greece¹⁴. Julia, the aged mother of Antony, took refuge with Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. Thither likewise fled Tiberius Claudius Nero, with his wife Livia Drusilla, and her infant son, persons often to be mentioned in the sequel of this history, as principal sharers in that power which now seemed to be raised on the ruin of their fortunes. Others had recourse to the protection of Ahenobarbus on the coast of Apulia.

While the relations of Antony in Italy were engaged in this unfortunate contest, he himself had passed from Greece through Asia into Egypt, where believing all his difficulties were at an end, he indulged his natural disposition to pleasure and dissipation. At Ephesus he had assembled the principal

¹⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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inhabitants of the province of Asia, proposed a contribution, and represented the occasion which obliged his colleagues and himself to make a demand for money. "They were about to disband the army," he said, "consisting of no less than twenty-eight legions, to whom were due great arrears of pay, together with deserved rewards and gratuities for past services. One of my colleagues," he continued, "is gone into Italy to provide settlements for this numerous army, or rather to remove all the inhabitants of that country, in order to make way for them. The task of finding supplies of money lies upon me, and I am persuaded you will own we are very moderate, when we demand no more than you gave to our enemies. Necessity, however, obliges us to exact, in one year, what Brutus and Cassius levied in two." "You will please then to order," said one of the audience, "two summers and two harvests in this wonderful year; for you, who can command us to pay the tax of two years in one, can likewise order the fruits of both years to be gathered in one¹⁵."

Antony, who paid more regard to wit than to the considerations either of humanity or justice, was pleased with this answer, and agreed that the proposed subsidy should be levied in two years, instead of one¹⁶. From Ephesus, he travelled by the coasts towards Syria, laid heavy contributions,

¹⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

¹⁶ Plut. in Antonio.

disposed

disposed of lands and country-seats, of which he made gifts to his retainers and followers. He received frequent applications for such favors from those who attended him, under pretence that the estates, which they coveted, were either deserted or occupied by an enemy. To his cook, in particular, he is said to have given the grant of a large possession, for having pleased him in the dressing of a supper. In his own behaviour, he exhibited that dissipation and extravagance, to which he ever returned in the moments of triumph and relaxation, and showed, in the gaiety and festivity of his court, a perfect contrast to the melancholy with which the inhabitants of every province were seized on his approach¹⁷. He had probably seen Cleopatra in Italy, during her intimacy with Julius Cæsar; and now, supposing himself come in place of that successful adventurer as head of the empire, he thought of this prize as the reward of his labors and possibly considered her as the principal object of his journey to the East. In order to heighten the scene of their meeting, with a farce to consist of a supposed quarrel and reconciliation, he affected to believe a report of her having ordered her fleet from Cyprus to join that of Cassius in the late war, and he sent her a formal summons to meet him in Cilicia, and to give in her answers to this heavy charge.

Cleopatra accordingly appeared on the Cydnus on board a galley, with a splendid retinue, and

¹⁷ Plut. in Antonio.

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V. dazzled the Roman Triumvir with the profusion of her ornaments, the elegance of her equipage, and the charms of her person. She was now about nine-and-twenty years of age, and being acquainted with the languages and manners of different nations, particularly instructed in the literature of the Greeks, and being in the maturity of wit and beauty, she joined the arts of a coquet, with all the accomplishments which became the birth and the high condition of a queen. Being invited to sup with Antony, she pleaded that he should begin with accepting her invitation. At their first entertainment, observing that his raillery favoured of the camp, she humored him in this manner, and even surpassed him in the freedom of her conversation.

From thenceforward Antony laid aside all business, followed the queen of Egypt to her kingdom, leaving his own provinces exposed to an enemy, by whom they were soon after assailed and over-run; and while this storm was raging in the East, and his brother, with his other adherents in Italy, were struggling for his share in the government of the empire, and obliged to fly or submit to his rival, he passed the winter at Alexandria in frolic and dissipation¹⁸. To gratify the jealousy of Cleopatra, he ordered Arsinoë, her sister and competitor for the throne, who had hitherto been confined at Miletus, to be put to death. In every other particular, he suffered himself to be governed by her caprice, and with the ensigns and attendance of a

¹⁸ Plut. in Antonio.

Roman Consul, and first officer of the state in the empire, lived like a boy under the influence of his first amour. The course of his pleasures, however, was in a little time effectually interrupted, by a report of the state of his affairs in Syria and the Lesser Asia. C H A P.
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Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates with a great army, had overrun Syria, and was making hasty advances in Cilicia. He was conducted in this expedition by Labienus, a Roman officer¹⁹, who, on the part of Brutus and Cassius, had resided at the court of Parthia, while the fate of the empire yet remained in suspense at Philippi, and who now persuaded the Parthians to attempt the conquest of opulent provinces in their neighbourhood, which, together with the Roman republic itself, were become the possession of mere adventurers, unacknowledged and unsupported by the laws of the commonwealth.

Upon this alarm, Antony had assembled the naval forces of Asia and of Egypt, and had set sail with two hundred gallies for the coast of Phœnicia; when the misconduct and distress of his relations in Italy were reported to him, and showed him the necessity of directing thither the armament which he had fitted out against the Parthians, in order to re-establish his interest, and to save the

¹⁹ Supposed to be the son of him who served under Julius Cæsar in the reduction of Gaul, and afterwards against him in the civil war.

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remains of his power²⁰. Having committed the command of his forces in Asia therefore to Ventidius, he steered for Greece. Upon his arrival at Athens, he was received by Fulvia, whose salutations were, probably, less flattering than those to which he had been lately accustomed in Egypt. The husband and the wife, on this occasion, were mutually disposed to blame and to recriminate. He complained of the flame which had been so unseasonably raised in his affairs in Italy, and she of his notorious infidelities to her bed, and of his remissness in the care of his interest. She was supposed, in fomenting the late quarrel with Octavius, to have acted so much from jealousy of Cleopatra, as to have industriously created troubles in Italy, in order to hasten the return of her husband from Egypt.

At Athens, Antony was likewise met by Scribonius Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, who, under pretence of conducting his mother Julia in safety to her son, brought overtures of an alliance and proposals, to form some concert for the conduct of their operations on the opposite coasts of Italy against Octavius. To this proposal, however, Antony made no decisive reply. In the late partition of the empire, Italy was not made a part in the separate lot of any of the Triumvirs; but being equally open to all of them, Antony professed being on his way thither, not as an enemy of Octavius, but as his colleague in the government, equally interested with himself to preserve the capital of the empire undisturbed. In answer to Libo, there-

²⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Plut. in Antonio.

fore, he acknowledged his obligation to Sextus Pompeius, for the honorable manner in which he had treated his relation, assured him, that if an opportunity offered, he should be happy to return the favor; and that if he were obliged to make war on Octavius, he should be glad of Pompey's assistance; or, in case matters were accommodated otherwise, should not neglect his interest in adjusting the treaty.

Octavius being informed of this interview, seized the opportunity which it gave him of raising suspicions against Antony in the minds of the veterans. He published the intelligence he had received of his correspondence with the head of the Pompeian faction, and represented it as a prelude to some scheme for restoring the enemies of the late Cæsar, for re-establishing the ancient possessors of land in Italy, and, consequently, for dispossessing the veterans of the settlements recently made in their favor. By spreading these reports in the army, he took measures to strengthen himself, in case he should find it necessary to refuse his colleague a free admission into any of the ports of Italy.

Soon after the reduction of Perugia, Calenus, who commanded a considerable body of Antony's forces at the foot of the Alps, dying, Octavius, repaired to the quarters of those troops, gained them over to his own interest, and, in order to secure their fidelity, made the necessary change of their officers. By these means, after he had supplanted the party of his rival in all the towns which they held in Italy, he now dispossessed them of the Cisalpine Gaul, for which their leader had so long contended against the Senate.

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At the arrival of Antony in Greece, Octavius could muster a land-force greatly superior to any that could be formed against him, even by the junction of his rival with Ahenobarbus and Sextus Pompeius; but he was so much inferior in shipping, that if their fleets should unite, they must be masters of the coast, and prevent all the importations by which Italy was supplied from abroad. To sow the seeds of some jealousy between them, or to counteract the intrigues of Antony with Scribonius Libo and with Sextus Pompeius, he made offers of marriage to Scribonia, the sister of Libo, and aunt of Pompey's wife; and this proposal being favorably received by the brother, he sent Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompeius, with an honorable retinue, to engage her son likewise to promote the intended alliance. By these means, he hoped to amuse, or to soften, the animosity of that family against himself; or at least, by these appearances of a friendly correspondence with Sextus Pompeius, in his turn, to alarm Antony, and thus to disconcert any plan which his rival, in the prospect of a breach with himself, might have formed for a coalition with the remains of the republican army. This marriage with Scribonia, was the second project of the same kind which Octavius had formed before the age of twenty-four, merely to lull the vigilance, or to blunt the animosity of his antagonists, while he himself continued to pursue his principal object with unremitting attention and ardor.

Antony, in every comparison with Octavius, not

only had the advantage of years, but was reckoned the better soldier; and having had the principal share, if not the whole honor of the victory at Philippi, had great authority in the army, and was likely, wherever he appeared, to be favorably received by all the troops who had any where served under his command. These, however, upon his approach to Italy, under various pretences, were sent by his crafty rival into the distant provinces. Lepidus too, although he had hitherto acquiesced in the late partition of the empire, by which he had been stript of his equal share in the power of a Triumvir; yet, as he was suffered to retain the title, and might throw his weight into the scale of either of the other parties, or furnish a pretence for some part of the army to follow him, it was thought proper, on the present occasion, to remove him to a distance. For this purpose, the government of Africa was assigned to him, and he himself, with six legions of doubtful inclinations, was dismissed to take possession of that province.

While Octavius was thus strengthening himself in Italy, or removing every object of distrust from that country, Antony, with a less pacific appearance than he had hitherto preserved, set out from Athens, and leaving Fulvia ill at Sicyon, joined at Corcyra his fleet, which had come round the Peloponnesus, and from thence sailed with two hundred gallies for the coast of Italy. He was joined by Ahenobarbus in his passage, and steered directly for Brundisium. As there was no declared quarrel betwixt himself and Octavius, he expected to be

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admitted into this port; but being disappointed in this expectation, he landed at some distance from the harbour, and invested or blocked up the town by sea and by land. Having thus committed hostilities, he no longer hesitated in accepting the alliance of Sextus Pompeius against Octavius, and proposed to him to make a descent somewhere on the opposite coast of Italy, to distract the forces of their common enemy, while he himself continued the siege of Brundisium.

Sextus Pompeius accordingly, notwithstanding that the marriage of his relation Scribonia with Octavius had taken place, not suffering himself to be imposed upon by this artifice, landed at Thurio, in the bay of Tarentum, made himself master of that place, and of the country from thence to Consentia. He, at the same time, sent Mænas, one of his admirals, into Sardinia, who got possession of that island, and gained to his party two legions that were stationed there.

Octavius sent Agrippa to oppose Pompey, while he himself advanced for the relief of Brundisium, but in a manner which confirmed the former suspicions of his personal courage. Being taken ill on the march, he stopped short at Canusium, and suffered Brundisium to fall into the hands of his rival. Agrippa acted with more vigor; pressed upon the enemy who had landed near Tarentum, obliged them to abandon their conquests, and to take refuge in their ships.

After Antony had got possession of Brundisium, it soon appeared that this unprofitable quarrel was

equally disagreeable to the armies on both sides, and each of the leaders, in order to exculpate himself to the troops, endeavoured to load his antagonist with the blame. Antony complained that, without any offence on his part, the ports of Italy had been shut up against him. Octavius recriminated, by alledging the correspondence of Antony with the Pompeian party, and excused his own conduct, in the order he had given to shut the port of Brundisium, alledging, that this precaution was taken, not against Antony or the troops in his service, but against Ahenobarbus, one of the assassins of Cæsar, whom Antony had engaged to make war upon Italy.

In whatever manner these representations were received, as the troops had frequent intercourse, their mutual inclinations to peace became known to each other; and officers, who had access to both their leaders, made formal proposals to effect a reconciliation between them. Antony, to evince his willingness to spare the blood of the legions, dismissed Ahenobarbus, under pretence of employing him to execute a commission in Bithynia, and at the same time sent instructions to Sextus Pompeius to withdraw from the coast.

In this disposition of the parties, accounts were received of the death of Fulvia, an event which greatly facilitated the negociation for peace, as it gave hopes of cementing the alliance of parties by a family connexion. It was accordingly proposed, that the sister of Octavius, and the widow of Marcellus, should be married to Antony: and, upon

BOOK V. this basis, a treaty was framed, including a new partition of the empire, by which all the East, from the Euphrates to Codropolis on the coast of Illyricum, was assigned to Antony. The West, from thence to the Ocean and the British Channel, was assigned to Octavius. Italy, as the seat of government, and the principal nursery of soldiers for the supply of their armies, was to be equally open to both. Lepidus was suffered to remain in the possession of Africa. Ahenobarbus was included in this treaty, and declared at peace with the heads of the empire; but Sextus Pompeius, notwithstanding his late confederacy with Antony, and his newly contracted relation with Octavius²¹, was still to be treated as an enemy. He was to be opposed by Octavius, while the war with the Parthians was supposed sufficient to occupy the forces of Antony.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the leaders gave mutual entertainments, and the troops, released from the unprofitable task of making war on each other, returned to the more agreeable occupation of receiving the rewards of their services. They understood, that Antony had gone into Asia to raise the money, which was wanted to pay off their arrears, and to satisfy their claims; they had manifold scores, in which they stated the rewards and gratuities which they had been made to expect on different occasions, and they now became clamorous, in particular, for the sums which had been so

²¹ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 28. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

liberally promised them before the battle of Philippi. The same violence which they had been taught to employ against the civil government of their country, they were ready at times to turn against their own leaders. They addressed their demands, on the present occasion, chiefly to Antony. From him they required an account of the money he had collected in Asia; and surrounding him in a mutinous manner, would not have abstained from violence to his person, if they had not been pacified by Octavius, who, having been the instrument of former liberalities, had credit enough with the army to make them acquiesce in the apology which was made for the delay of their payment, and in the fresh assurances, which were now given, that all the promises, which had been formerly made to them, should be faithfully performed.

All discontents for the present being suspended, the legions submitted to be sent into different quarters, and the leaders, with every appearance of a perfect reconciliation, set out for Rome. They made their entry into the city together, on horseback, and dressed in triumphal robes; they were received by the People, of every rank and condition, with demonstrations of joy, which, under the sense of a deliverance from the prospect of a civil war, that had so recently threatened the inhabitants of Italy, was very general and very sincere.

The pacific appearances, with which the joint sovereigns of the empire made their entry at Rome, were confirmed by the actual marriage of Antony with Octavia; and it was expected, that the late

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rivals, now become brothers, by this marriage, were to govern for the future with much cordiality and mutual confidence. Antony, to evince the sincerity of this intention on his own part, put Manius, the confident of his brother and of Fulvia, to death, as being the supposed author of the late tumults in Italy; and probably, the more fully to show how far he was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present connexion, he betrayed a secret correspondence, which Salvidienus, an officer serving under Octavius, had maintained with himself during the siege of Brundisium. This officer, in consequence of the detection, being condemned for treachery, killed himself²².

Upon the faith of these public renunciations of all partial attachments, Octavius and Antony, in the character of collegiate sovereigns, passed the remainder of the present year, and the whole of the following, at Rome, with great appearance of concord. This circumstance was in some measure ascribed to the discretion of Octavia, who, during the same period, was delivered of a child to Antony, and by the birth of this new relation, gave an additional pledge for the continuance of their union; but, notwithstanding these flattering appearances, Italy still suffered under the distresses of a war, subsisting with those who were in possession of Sicily and Sardinia.

Sextus Pompeius, exasperated by the treatment he had received from both parties in the late

²² Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvii.

quarrel and reconciliation, and now possessed of a considerable naval force, blocked up the ports of Italy, and prevented the usual importation of corn. The inhabitants of the towns were reduced to great distress. Those of the metropolis, in particular, became outrageous, and, in contempt of the military force by which they were governed, rose in tumults, pulled down the houses of persons to whom they imputed their sufferings, and even attacked the Triumvirs with reproaches and violence. Having furnished themselves with arms, they resisted the troops that were employed to quell them, and, in their frequent conflicts, covered the streets with the slain.

The Triumvirs were inclined to end these troubles, by urging with vigor the war against Pompey, in order to oblige him to open the seas; but for this purpose, a great reinforcement of shipping was necessary, and a tax was imposed, in order to defray the expense of a fleet. A public burden coming so unseasonably, greatly increased the general discontent. The inhabitants of Rome, although they had suffered themselves to be stript of their political consequence as Roman citizens, still felt the wants of nature, and were provoked by exactions that affected their property: they took courage from the disorders of the times, and ventured to censure an usurpation, which they had not dared to resist. "Italy, the head of the empire," they said, "long used to exemption from all taxation, was not only torn by domestic wars, but impoverished by an extortion that was practised to support

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“ quarrels, not with foreign enemies , but with Ro-
 “ mans, and to gratify the vanity or emulation of
 “ fellow-citizens, who exhausted all the strength of
 “ the commonwealth , merely to appropriate the
 “ government of it to themselves ; for this , so ma-
 “ ny respectable citizens had been proscribed ; for
 “ this , sword and famine were still permitted to
 “ rage , and the children of the first families of
 “ Rome, in order to revenge their personal wrongs,
 “ and even to procure their subsistence, were forced
 “ to act the part of banditti and of pirates.”

The populace of Rome, instigated by these representations, tore down the proclamation, in which the new tax was imposed ; and seeming to recover their former consequence, though now under the government of military force, they became more riotous and dangerous than they had been in the utmost abuse of their civil liberty, and in the height of their democratical power.

It became necessary, on account of the riots, and the growing scarcity of bread, to open a negotiation with Sextus Pompeius, as the speediest means of relief from the present distress. Octavius once more availed himself of the relation he had acquired to the family of Pompey, by his marriage with Scribonia, invited Libo to a visit in Italy, and by his means proposed an interview between the parties, to be held at Puteoli in the bay of Baiæ.

Sextus Pompeius having agreed to this proposal, came with his fleet upon the coast. Antony and Octavius went to Puteoli by land, attended by many of the principal citizens, and a numerous military

escort. In order that the parties might meet in safety, it was proposed, that each should have a separate platform, erected on piles to be driven in the sea, reaching, on the one side, from the shore, on the other, from Pompey's ships, so as to bring the parties sufficiently near to hold their conference, though still with such a space or interval between them, as might mutually secure them from any insult or violence.

These preparations being made, the fleet of Sextus Pompeius ranged itself on the one side, and the land-army of the Triumvirs on the other. As the interests of all men were involved in the issue, their expectations were greatly raised. The shores, the cliffs, the high lands were covered with spectators, who gazed on the scene, and anxiously waited for the event. At the first conference, the Triumvirs offered Pompey a safe return to Rome, with an equivalent for his father's estate. He demanded admission into the Triumvirate, instead of Lepidus, who appeared in effect to be already excluded. As they parted without any agreement, a general dissatisfaction appeared among their adherents and followers on both sides. Pompey feared the defections of many who had hitherto followed him; and as he had lately put Murcus, a principal officer of his party, to death, from a jealousy of this sort, he was inclined to believe that many of his party were disposed to accept of any terms, and to treat for themselves.

The distresses of Italy, on the other hand, strongly urged the Triumvirs to make the necessary

B O O K V. concessions; and both parties came to a second interview, with better inclinations to adjust their differences. It was accordingly agreed, that Pompey should remain in possession of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; that the Peloponnesus should likewise be ceded to him, and a sum of money be paid in compensation for the losses of his family²³; that all the exiles, now under his protection, except such as were concerned in the death of Cæsar, should be restored to their country, and to a fourth part of their former estates; that the navigation of the seas of Italy should be free, and vessels immediately suffered to pass from Sicily, and all the neighbouring countries, which were accustomed to supply the Italians with corn.

This treaty being ratified, was transmitted to Rome, and committed to the keeping of the Vestal Virgins. Every cause of hostility or distrust between the parties being thus done away, their platforms were joined by a bridge of planks, and they embraced each other. Those, who were near enough to see this signal of peace, raised a shout, which was returned from the multitudes which crowded the ships and the neighbouring shores. Every one took a part in the joy that was occasioned by the present event, as having suffered under the distresses and hardships which were now brought to an end.

Historians, seeming to feel for those who were

²³ 15,500,000 Drach. or Denarii, about 500,000 l. Zonaras, lib. x. f. 283. c. 21.

concerned in this transaction, have exerted their genius in describing it; and, among other particulars, have recorded, that friends and relations, who had been long separated, being to meet in peace, crowded with great ardor to the strand; that persons who had no such particular motive, being seized with the general contagion, pressed to have a nearer view of the scene; that numbers were suffocated in the crowd; that many from the boats and ships leaped into the sea, and waded or swam to land, and were met from the shore by others who expected to recover their relations and friends; that shouts of joy, or cries of despair, were raised, according as they were severally successful or disappointed in this expectation; that parents and children, disappointed in their hopes of meeting each other, tore their hair, and fell into agonies of grief, the whole exhibiting, though in a supposed termination of public calamities, a lively expression of the distress which the late troubles had occasioned, and striking marks of the wounds which were recently open, and bleeding in the vitals of the commonwealth, and in the bosom of every private house ²⁴.

At the close of this scene, the leaders mutually invited each other to a feast. Pompey, by lot, gave the first entertainment on board his ship; he made an apology for the want of the accommodation, and playing on the word *Carinae*, which signified a ship, and likewise was the name of his late father's villa and garden in the suburbs of Rome, which were

²⁴ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 37. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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occupied by Antony, "This," he said, "is now
"my *Carina*." While the company were yet on
board, Mænas, once the slave of the great Pompey,
but now emancipated, and the first sea-officer in
the fleet of his son, whispered him, that then was
the time to revenge the death of his father and of
his brother, and to recover the rank of his family,
by dispatching these authors of all their calamities.
"Let me cut the cable," he said, "and put to sea;
"I promise you that none of them shall escape."
"This might have been done by Mænas, without
"consulting me," said Sextus; "but my faith is
"sacred, and must not be broken."

The guests accordingly were suffered to depart,
without having, in any way, been made sensible of
the danger they ran, and they gave entertainments
in their turns. At these feasts, additional articles
were thought of to confirm the treaty, and to regu-
late the measures of the future administration. To
strengthen the coalition of parties, the daughter of
Sextus Pompeius was betrothed to Marcellus, the
nephew of Octavius, and now the step-son of An-
tony. The succession to the Consulate was fixed
for four years. Antony and Libo were named Con-
suls for the first year, Cæsar and Pompey were to
follow, next Ahenobarbus and Sosius, and last of all
Antony and Cæsar. Under the administration of
these last, it was supposed that the public order and
public tranquillity might be so well restored; for
this was the language which the Triumvirs still af-
fected to hold, that the republic would no longer
need the interposition of extraordinary powers, and
might be left to run its usual course.

Sextus Pompeius set sail for Sicily; the collegiate sovereigns of the empire set out on their return to Rome; and, in their entry to the city, passed through multitudes, who, on the present occasion, gave very sincere demonstrations of joy. The People flattered themselves, that they were now to experience no more of their late distresses — no more civil dissensions — no more tearing of the father from his family, to serve in the wars — no more oppression and cruelty from the licentiousness of armies — no more desertion of slaves — no more devastation of their lands — no more interruption of agriculture, no more famine. In the return of exiles, who lately fled from the swords of their fellow-citizens, but who were now restored to the enjoyment of peace and security, they might perceive, it was said, the surest evidence of a general act of oblivion for all offences, and a termination of all party-animosities and disputes.

Octavius and Antony, during the remainder of their continuance together at Rome, passed their time in literary amusements, and in the fashionable pastimes of the age, cock-fighting and quail-fighting²⁵. They conducted affairs of State with so much concord and silence, that no public transaction is mentioned, besides the completing of the aqueducts projected by Julius Cæsar, and the celebration of the festivals, which had been vowed for the destruction of those who had conspired against his life²⁶.

²⁵ Plutarch, in Antonio.

²⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 32, 33.

C H A P. V I.

Alarm of the Parthian Invasion of Syria. — Arrangements of Octavius and Antony. — Departure of the latter, and Residence at Athens. — State of the Commonwealth. — Marriage of Octavius with Livia. — War with Sextus Pompeius. — Actions near the Straits of Messina. — Agrippa succeeds to the Command of Octavius's Fleet. — His Victory at Sea. — Flight of Sextus Pompeius. — Breach between Octavius and Lepidus.

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SUCH was the state of affairs at Rome, when the accounts which had been successively received from Syria, made the presence of Antony appear to be necessary in that part of the empire which had been specially committed to his care. His lieutenant Desidius Saxe, in opposing the Parthians under Pacorus and Labienus, had received a defeat, and being unable to brook his misfortune, had killed himself. In consequence of this catastrophe, the province of Syria was over-run by the enemy. Tyre, and all the principal towns on the coast were already in their hands, and the province of Cilicia lay open to their inroads.

Upon this report, Antony sent forward Ventidius, to collect such forces as yet remained in the

province of Asia, and to give some present check to the immediate progress of the Parthians, while he himself proposed to follow, and to conduct the war in person. Before his departure, he obtained from the Senate and People the form of an act to confirm all the arrangements which the Triumvirs had made respecting the revenue, or any other department of the State. In concert with his colleague he made up the roll of the Senate, and marked out the succession of Consuls and other titular magistrates for eight years. In their choice of persons for these several honors, each was careful to balance the nomination of his rival with an equal number of his own dependants, clients, and persons over whom he had entire influence; and in this competition for power, they named for the offices of State mere aliens, soldiers of fortune, persons who had recently obtained their freedom, or confidential slaves manumitted for this purpose¹.

These arrangements being made, Antony, attended by his wife Octavia, set out for Athens. Here he learned that the war in Syria was in a great measure at an end; that Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, with Labienus, having attacked Ventidius in his camp, were repulsed; that their forces had been afterwards routed in different

¹ One Maximus, being in the nomination for the office of Quæstor, was claimed and adjudged to be a slave, another person of the same condition was discovered in a high station and, as a punishment due for his presumption, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock. Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 34.

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encounters, and dispersed; that Pacorus himself was killed²; that Labienus had fled, in disguise, into Cyprus, was discovered, taken, and put to death; that the Parthians had abandoned all their conquests in Syria and in Palestine, and were hastening to repass the Euphrates.

Antony, upon this termination of a war, which so much alarmed his division of the empire, probably would have been inclined to return into Egypt; but as the presence of Octavia rendered a visit to Cleopatra improper, he determined to take his residence at Athens. From thence he distributed to his officers their several stations and provinces, and disposed of kingdoms on the frontiers to princes who solicited his protection: that of Pontus he bestowed on Darius the son of Pharnaces, and grandson of Mithridates; that of the Jews and Samaritans on Herod, that of Pysidia, on Amyntas; and that of Cilicia, on Polemon. During the winter he had dropped all the retinue of a Roman officer of State, resigned himself to ease, domestic pleasures, and the conversation of the learned³.

In the intervals of relaxation, some species of extravagance and dissipation ever make a part in the history of Antony's life. The reports, however, which remain of his behaviour at Athens, may, in a great measure, be considered as a part of the reproach, which his enemies, to justify their own cause, have thrown upon his memory; and which

² Plut. in Antonio.

³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. p. 714.

they have been able, by becoming the victorious party, to fix upon his name for ever. He is said, at some of his entertainments, to have personated Bacchus the young and irresistible conqueror of the world, and to have carried this extravagance so far, that the Athenians were encouraged to pay their court, by proposing a marriage between himself and their goddess Minerva. But to show that he carried some reason in his madness, he accepted the match, under condition that the bride should be accompanied with a suitable portion; and in this jest turned the servility of his flatterers to profit, by exacting ten millions of drachmas*.

But in whatever manner Antony passed his supposed leisure at Athens, Octavius, whose conduct, on most occasions, is a manifest contrast to that of his colleague, did not fail to avail himself of the advantages of his situation in Italy, the supposed head of the empire, and of the bent of the times to monarchy, by uniting, as much as possible, all the channels of influence in his own person.

The concerts of the first Cæsar with Pompey and Crassus, though named a Triumvirate, were the mere effects of a private combination to over-rule the public councils, and to dispose of every preferment, or place of emolument or trust. But the powers now exercised by Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, though extorted by force, had at least the nominal sanction of a legal appointment, and were of the nature of those extraordinary commissions

* About 300,000 l. Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 39.

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which had been frequently given in every age of the republic, and which were not improperly calculated for any uncommon emergence, or arduous state of affairs. A commission of Triumvirate, in so great an exigency of the State, professedly given to restore its tranquillity, and re-establish public order, if it had been freely granted, was well enough suited to former precedents, and preserved the analogy of Roman forms, inasmuch that if the People had been less corrupted, the government of the republic might have been easily restored.

The titles of Senate and People, of Consul, Prætor, and other magistrates or officers of State, were still retained, and preserved the appearance of ancient formalities, whether in the legislature, or in the exercise of executive power. The same members which formed the ancient political body were supposed to exist, though much debilitated, and sunk in disease. The Senate consisted of persons willing to submit, or known to favor, the present usurpation: such persons only were now to be found. Those of a different description had fallen in the civil wars, or perished in the late executions and massacres; and if they had still remained, would not have been suffered to take a part in the government of the State by those who, under the title of Triumvirs, had engrossed all its functions. Even the pretended Comitia were no longer those overbearing conventions, in which multitudes assembled in a tumultuary manner, assumed the prerogatives of the Roman People, disposed of elections, or carried their own mandates into execution with

irresistible force. This part of the republican constitution was become a mere name, employed to ratify the acts of the Triumvirs, and to confirm their nomination of persons to office. The forms of their meeting, however, as well as those of the Senate, were retained to give a sanction to deeds which might not be supposed of permanent authority, without the well known initials of the Senate and People of Rome^s.

As the supreme power and the exercise of every public function, both at Rome and in the provinces, were now vested in this pretended commission, the ordinary offices of State were filled up merely for the sake of form, or rather that there might be an opportunity to oblige particular persons in their advancement to public honors. The titles of Prætorian and Consular rank, retained by those who had filled those offices in the commonwealth, were come to resemble the titles of honor by which the nobles are distinguished in monarchies; and men had, for some time, begun to covet the office, not on account of the power it conferred, but for the sake of the title it was to leave behind, with the persons by whom it had once been possessed.

For this reason the ancient denominations of office were not likely to be discontinued at Rome, even upon the establishment of monarchy. The regular term of a year indeed was already no longer annexed to the idea of magistracy. The honor of having been Consul or Prætor for a few

^s S. P. Q. R.

B O O K months, for a few days, or even for a few hours, gave the precedence that was wished for; and many, as soon as they had taken possession of the office, were removed to make way for others to whom the same favor was intended.

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In this manner, during the joint-residence of Octavius and Antony at Rome, Asinius Pollio, and Domitius, holding the Consulate, were made to resign it, in order that two others might be admitted for a few days, of whom one was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and the first of his family that ever had a place on the rolls of the People as a citizen of Rome. But this new citizen had followed Julius Cæsar, and amassed a considerable fortune in his service. To others, the dignity of Prætor and of Ædile, vacated on purpose, was transferred for a few hours. These preferments gave no claim, as in the former times of the republic, to the government of provinces; they gave no influence, and scarcely prescribed any function in the city.

In this general abuse of the civil institutions, now reduced to mere titles and forms, the Tribunes of the People, by means of the superstitious regard that was paid to their persons, still retained a part of their consequence; and Octavius, instead of attempting to reduce it, affected to revere this sacred repository of the People's rights, in defence of which Julius Cæsar made war on the Senate; and instead of attempting to remove the defences with which these officers were provided against violence, he procured his own name to be inscribed in their

list, and took part in a sacred character which he could not destroy; in this, as in many other particulars, discovering an admirable discernment of the means that were necessary to palliate a recent usurpation; and seeming to profit by the experience of his late uncle, who, after he had overcome every serious resistance, fell a sacrifice to trifles, and to the security and ostentation with which he assumed the state of a monarch.

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About this time is dated a considerable alteration made in the Roman law, by the addition of a rule respecting the effect of last wills. This rule is ascribed to Falcidius*, one of the colleagues of Octavius in the college of Tribunes. Hitherto Roman citizens were free to bequeath their fortunes at pleasure, and to divide them in any proportion among their friends or acquaintance, whether relations or strangers; and property held a course in its passage by succession, from one generation to another, which excluded no person whatever from the hopes of inheritance, provided he could obtain the regard of his fellow-citizens. As it was the practice of every testator, even when he had no motive for disinheriting his nearest relations, to give some testimony in his will to the merit of every friend who survived him, it was reckoned an honor to be mentioned in many wills, and persons who had not the ordinary opportunities to amass fortunes, either in the government of provinces, or in the farm of the revenues, might nevertheless become rich by an

* Lex Falcidia.

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extensive and well-supported course of good offices in the city. This practice is possibly less suited to monarchy, than it is to republics, and least of all to despotical governments, where the master wishes to leave no will independent of his own. He can awe the living, but the dying escape from his influence. This feeling perhaps already began to take place in the minds of the rulers at Rome, and in the minds of those who courted their favor; and it may have suggested the law of Falcidius, by which testators were suffered to dispose, by will, of no more than three-fourths of their effects; the other fourth was assigned to the heir at law.

While Antony yet resided at Athens, Octavius passed into Gaul on a progress to review his armies, and to make the proper disposition of his force in the provinces; and it began to appear, that the late treaty, which had been concluded with Sextus Pompeius, was no more than a temporary expedient to procure relief to the inhabitants of Italy from the distresses with which they had been lately afflicted. The articles were never fully performed by either party. The family-alliance, which Octavius had contracted with Sextus Pompeius in his marriage with Scribonia, by whom he had issue, a daughter afterwards so famous by the name of Julia, was likewise, about this time, broke off to make way for his marriage with Livia, a name already mentioned, and to be often repeated in the subsequent parts of this history.

U. C. 715.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher,
and C. Norbanus Flaccus.

Marriage had hitherto appeared to Octavius merely as the means of obtaining some political end;

and he had already, in difficult transactions, twice availed himself of this expedient, although it is remarked by historians, as an evidence of his youth, that, until his marriage with Livia, his beard was not sufficiently grown to need the use of the razor. In this alliance, however, he seems to have had a different object; and was so far from being led by utility alone, that he not only overlooked the want of it, but likewise got over many other difficulties which stood in his way.

Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, a citizen who had been in open enmity with Octavius and his party; and who, in despair, after the battle of Philippi, with other adherents of the republic, had fallen by his own hands. The daughter had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, who also was a declared enemy of the Cæsarean faction; and who, in the late contest of parties in Italy, put himself at the head of the ejected land-holders of Campania, joined Lucius Antonius, and, as has been mentioned on the reduction of Perusia, fled with his family into Sicily, where he took refuge with Sextus Pompeius. Being included in the treaty of reconciliation which was framed at Baiæ, he returned to Rome. His wife had already born him a son, afterwards well known by the name of Tiberius, and was again with child, and six months gone in her pregnancy, when it was proposed, that she should part from her present husband, and bring forth the child, of whom she was then pregnant, in the embraces of Cæsar. The priests being consulted on the legality of this marriage, desired to

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know, whether the pregnancy of Livia was well ascertained; and being informed that it was certain, made answer, That as there could arise no doubt concerning the parentage of her offspring, her separation from Tiberius Claudius, and her marriage with Octavius, were lawful.

The change which now took place in the family of Octavius, by his repudiating Scribonia, was considered as the prelude to a war with Sextus Pompeius. Many articles of the late treaty had never been carried into execution. The Peloponnesus, under pretence of the time which was necessary to recover some arrears that were said to be due to Antony in that province, had not, according to agreement, been delivered to Pompey. In justification of other infractions of the treaty, it was urged against him, that, contrary to the faith he had given, he continued to augment his fleet, and suffered his cruisers to commit depredations on the traders of Italy. Some pirates being taken, and threatened with the torture, alledged, in their own vindication, that they acted under his orders. The confessions of these men being published, with complaints and remonstrances, an altercation ensued that was likely to end in hostilities and open war.

After these complaints had become mutual between Octavius and Sextus Pompeius, the rupture was hastened by the defection of Mænas, one of Pompey's officers, the same person who proposed to carry off Antony and Octavius, by cutting the cable while they were at dinner on board his master's

ship. This officer, being intrusted with the command of a fleet in the ports of Sardinia, upon some disgust to his master, entered into a correspondence with Octavius, made offer of his service, and proposed to surrender the island. This act of perfidy became known only by the acceptance and execution of the offer. Octavius obtained the possession of Sardinia, and received Mænas with sixty gallies into his service, rewarded his treachery by employing him in the same rank which he possessed under Sextus Pompeius, and by conferring upon him the gold ring, the well known badge of nobility at Rome⁷.

As this transaction took place while the treaty was yet supposed to be in force, Pompey demanded that the traitor should be delivered up to him, and the island of Sardinia restored; but was answered, that he himself had been the aggressor, in giving refuge to deserters and fugitive slaves.

Pompey, on receiving this answer, proceeded to immediate hostilities⁸. He sent Menecrates, who succeeded Mænas in the chief command of his fleet, to the coast of Campania, with orders to make reprisals, and to plunder Vulturnus, and some other places of that neighbourhood.

Octavius, on his part, had been some time endeavouring to supply his want of shipping, had built some vessels in the ports of Italy, which, with the addition of those he received by the desertion of

⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 45. Orosius, Appian, &c.

⁸ Zonaras, lib. x. c. 23.

BOOK V. Mænas, put him in condition to enter on the war with advantage. He had ordered his equipments at two separate stations; the one at Tarentum, the other on the coast of Etruria; and being now to make war on Sicily, he proposed to bring his naval forces together at Rhegium, in the straits of Messina. Thither he likewise directed a powerful land-army to march, in order to invade the island, and to begin the war, by expelling Pompey from the principal seat of his power. He himself came round to Rhegium with that division of his fleet which had been fitted out at Tarentum. Calvisius commanded the other division, and made sail from the coast of Etruria to the same place.

Sextus Pompeius, having notice of this disposition that was made to attack him, likewise divided his forces. He himself took post at Messina to observe Octavius, and sent Menecrates to intercept Calvisius, and to prevent the junction of their fleets.

Menecrates accordingly came in sight of his enemy in the evening of the same day, lay that night under the island Ænaria, while Calvisius came to anchor near Cumæ. Next morning, at break of day, both fleets got under sail; but Calvisius, having orders to bring his division safe to the general rendez-vous at Rhegium, was desirous to avoid an engagement, and kept under the land. Menecrates, steering the same course, kept abreast of the enemy, till perceiving their design to avoid him, by lying close to the shore, he too stood in with the land to attack them.

Calvisius, finding an action unavoidable, and
thinking

thinking himself inferior in the skill of his mariners, determined to bring his ships to anchor under the land, where they could not be furrounded, and where his men, if attacked, having smooth water, might use their swords as on solid ground; and he accordingly formed a line close to the shore, turning the prow and the beak of his ships to the sea.

In this position the squadron of Octavius received the shock of the enemy, and on the right, where Calvisius himself commanded, made a good defence, but in the centre, many of the ships were forced from their anchors, and stranded, or burnt. Menecrates, in coming to engage, distinguished the galley of Mænas, his ancient rival, and the traitor to their common master; bore down upon him, and, in the shock, broke away the beak of his galley; but, in passing along his side, as the vessel brushed, lost all the oars of his own ship. They afterwards grappled, and fought till both the commanders were wounded; and Menecrates, finding himself disabled, and in danger of being taken, went headlong into the sea. His galley instantly struck, and was towed off by the enemy. This event, although the advantage was otherwise greatly on the side of Pompey, dispirited the whole squadron; and Demochares, who succeeded Menecrates in the command of Pompey's fleet, neglecting the advantage he might have reaped from the situation and loss of the enemy, withdrew to the island Ænaria, and from thence, on the following day, set sail for Sicily. Calvisius, having endeavoured

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to repair his damage, continued his voyage, under the land, towards Rhegium.

Octavius, at the same time, not knowing of this action, but being impatient to effect the junction of his fleets, made sail from Rhegium, and stood to the northward through the Straits. When the greater part of the fleet had passed the port of Messina, he was observed by Sextus Pompeius, who put to sea, and attacked his rear. He nevertheless continued on his way through the gut, and would have declined an action, if it could have been avoided; but finding himself in danger of suffering an absolute defeat from the enemy, who, taking advantage of his course, pressed on his rear as in actual flight, he made a signal to halt; and from the same motives which determined Calvisius to form under the land, making a like disposition, he hoped, that, by being at anchor, his men might engage on equal terms with an enemy who were greatly superior in the management of their ships. In the event, however, he was much more unfortunate than Calvisius, and had great part of his fleet either stranded or burnt. He himself, while his ships were still engaged, left Cornificius to continue the fight, got on shore, and with a number of men, who had escaped from the wrecks, took refuge on the neighbouring hills.

At the approach of night, the lieutenant of Octavius, while the enemy still pressed upon him, seeing the danger of having all his ships forced on shore before morning, made a signal for the remains of the squadron to cut their cables, and stand out to

sea. In making this movement, his own galley grappled with that of Demochares, and having disabled her, obliged the commander to move into another ship. At this instant the other division of Octavius's fleet, commanded by Calvisius, appeared to the northward; being seen first from the enemy's fleet, occasioned a sudden pause in the action.

Pompey, believing this to be a fresh enemy, whom, after so much loss and fatigue, he was not in condition to engage, took his resolution, to the great surprise of the squadron he had vanquished, to relinquish his prey, and retire to Messina.

Cornificius again came to anchor in the place of action, and being joined by Calvisius, passed the night in taking an account of his damage, in saving such ships as could be got off, or in removing the baggage and stores from such as were ashore. Octavius, at the same time, made fires on the hills to assemble the stragglers who had escaped from the wrecks, of whom many were found without arms or necessaries of any sort.

Towards morning, a gale of wind arose from the south, and rolled a great sea through the straits. It continued to blow all day and the following night; during which time, Mænas, being an experienced mariner, had not only originally come to an anchor with his division, as far as he could from the land, but continued all night to ease his anchors, by plying against the wind with his oars. Of the rest of the fleet, such ships as were near the land having drove in the night, many perished on the rocks. At break of day the wind abated; but, from the effects of the

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storm which had blown in the night, the strand was covered with dead bodies, and with the fragments of ships. The vessels that were still afloat, being about one half of the fleet, having stopped for a little time to save as many as they could from the wrecks, set sail in a very shattered condition for Vibo. Here they arrived without any molestation from the enemy, who were contented to have remained in safety at Messina. Octavius himself having beheld the wreck of so many of his ships, took the route of Campania by land, and made the necessary dispositions to frustrate any attempts which Pompey might make on the coast.

U. C. 716.
M. Agrippa,
L. Caninius
Gallus,
T. Statilius.

The summer having been spent in these undecisive operations, both parties prepared for a vigorous renewal of the contest in the following spring. Pompey himself continued to alarm the coast of Italy during the winter, and sent Apollophanes, one of his officers, to make a descent upon Africa. Octavius gave orders to repair the loss of his ships, and to recruit his land-forces. He had recourse to the assistance of Antony, who had hitherto expressed a dislike to the war, and was probably jealous of the accessions of power which Octavius was likely to gain by the destruction of Sextus Pompeius.

Antony however, upon this requisition from his colleague, set sail from Greece, and appeared at Tarentum with a fleet of three hundred ships, though still undetermined, it is supposed, which side he should take in the present contest. But Octavia, who had accompanied her husband to Tarentum, had the address to turn the scale in favor of her

brother. She undertook to be the mediator of their differences, went on shore, and procured an amicable interview between them. At this meeting they made an exchange of sea and land-forces. Antony gave to Octavius a hundred and twenty ships, and had in return twenty thousand legionary soldiers. To confirm the removal of all their suspicions, Julia, the infant daughter of Octavius by Scribonia, was, on this occasion, betrothed to Antyllis, one of the sons of Antony by Fulvia; and a daughter of Antony was betrothed to Domitius. These schemes of alliance, projected in the infancy of the parties, never took effect, but were among the artifices with which the parents endeavoured to amuse each other.

Octavius and Antony now agreed, with very little hesitation, that Pompey had forfeited the Consulate, the priesthood, and all the other advantages which had been yielded in his favor by the late treaty; and they made new arrangements respecting the succession to office, in behalf of themselves and their friends. The principal object in these arrangements was the gratifying their adherents with titles of rank. In the preceding year, no less than sixty-seven persons had passed through the office of Prætor. This dignity, as well as that of Consul, was frequently, for the sake of the title, taken up and resigned in the same day. The office of Ædile, which used to be of so much consequence under the republic, as it gave an opportunity to court the favor of the People with entertainments and shows, being now of no value on this account,

BOOK and being the lowest in rank, though still expensive,
V. was generally declined⁹.

The period for which the pretended commission of the Triumvirs had been granted by the Roman Senate and People being now about to expire, Octavius and Antony, without having recourse to the same form, resumed the exercise of their power for five years longer. And having, in appearance, amicably settled the several points in dispute between themselves, they separated in pursuit of their respective objects; Octavius being intent on the war with Sextus Pompeius, and Antony on that with the Parthians. But, to the great danger of their future agreement, the last was no longer attended by Octavia, who had hitherto served as a bond of union between them, and had checked the jealousies and extravagances of her husband. She had born him a child, was again pregnant, and being unable to attend him in the dangers to which he was likely to be exposed in the Parthian war, chose to remain in Italy, and to fix her residence at Rome¹⁰.

In the prospect of the approaching campaign, Agrippa was recalled from Gaul, where he had been employed by Octavius in the preceding summer, and during the miscarriages on the coast of Italy. This officer, although of mean extraction, rose to the highest honors which could, in this

⁹ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 43—53.

¹⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 46, &c.

state of his country, be attained by a citizen. As he was not born to the dignity and pretensions of a Roman Senator, he cannot be accused, with others, of having betrayed that character; but coming forward amidst the ruins of the republic, and after the extinction of those virtues which were necessary to its preservation, he was the first person who understood and possessed the habits and accomplishments which are required in support of a monarchy; submission without servility or baseness, application, fidelity, and courage; estimating honors by his nearness to his prince, and merit by the degree in which he could promote his service¹¹. He had in the preceding summer obtained some victories on the Rhine, and was the first Roman, after Julius Cæsar, who had passed that barrier of the German nations. Upon his arrival at Rome he might have had a triumph on account of these services; but preferring the respect that was due to his master, to the sense of his own personal consequence, he said, that it did not become him to triumph while the affairs of Cæsar were not in prosperity.

Agrippa was by his genius qualified for the execution of magnificent works, as well as for the steady and able conduct of military operations. Observing, that the disasters of the preceding year were to be imputed, in some measure, to the want of harbours and proper retreats for shipping on the western coast of Italy, he made it his first object to supply this

¹¹ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 79.

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defect, by opening a communication from the sea to the lakes of Cumæ, which were spacious basons, and when thus rendered accessible by navigable entries, might furnish every conveniency for the reception and construction of fleets. In describing the masonry which was necessary in the formation of these communications, mention is made of the peculiar advantage derived from the use of burnt earth taken from the neighbouring mountains; and which being used for sand in the composition of mortar, made an excellent cement for buildings that were to remain under water¹².

While the summer passed in the execution of these works, and in the equipment of a proper fleet to encounter that of Pompey, Mænas, repenting of his late desertion, entered into a correspondence with his former master; and being assured of pardon, withdrew with seven ships from the fleet of Octavius, then under the command of Calvisius, and returned to his former service. Octavius took this occasion to supersede Calvisius, upon an imputation of neglect, and appointed Agrippa to succeed him in the conduct of the war.

U. C. 717. About a year was spent in the equipment of ships
L. Gellius and in training the mariners, which, for the conve-
Poplicola, L. nience of harbours and docks, was executed as
Munatius before, at two separate stations; one at Tarentum,
Plancus, M. under Statilius Taurus, where the ships which had
Cocceius been furnished by Antony still remained; the other
Nerva, P. in the new harbour at Puteoli, under Agrippa.
Sulpicius
Querinus.

¹² Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

Lepidus, to second the operations of Octavius, had assembled his forces on the coast of Africa, and it was concerted that Sicily should be invaded in three places at once; at Lilybæum, the nearest part to Africa, by Lepidus; at Mylæ, on the northern side of the island, by Agrippa; and at Taurominium, on the eastern coast, by Statilius Taurus. It was projected that the armaments equipped for these different services, should be at their places of destination as nearly as possible about the first of July.

While these preparations were making, Octavius, residing chiefly at Tarentum or at Cumæ, left the administration of civil affairs at Rome in the hands of Mæcenas, who, though not vested with any office of Magistracy, or any other public character besides that of a person in the confidence of his master, possessed a supreme authority. Octavius himself, when the plan of the war was ripe for execution, joined that division of his forces which was led by Agrippa, and sailed from Puteoli at the appointed time; but after he had crossed the bay of Baiæ, to the promontory of Minerva, he met with a storm, by which many of his ships were damaged, and forced to put back into the port he had left.

This accident was likely to disconcert the operations of the campaign, or to delay the invasion of Sicily for another season. But the complaints of the people of Italy, suffering under the obstruction that was given by Pompey to the importation of corn, required an immediate relief. Some of the projected operations of the campaign were already

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begun, and required to be supported. Lepidus had failed with the first division of his army, and had landed in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, and Statilius Taurus had advanced from Tarentum to Leucopetræ, opposite to Taurominium, the place at which he was ordered to make his descent. Urged by these considerations, Octavius, with such repairs as he could accomplish, in about thirty days after he had been put back into port, again put to sea. At Strougylé he learnt that Pompey, with the greater part of his fleet, lay off Mylæ to guard that access to the island. Thinking this, therefore, a favorable opportunity to push his other attack from Leucopetræ to Taurominium, he himself returned to the coast of Italy, landed at Vibo, went from thence by land to Leucopetræ, and put the squadron from that place in motion for their intended descent on Sicily.

While Octavius was thus employed at the other extremity of the Straits, Agrippa had come to an action with Pompey's fleet off the harbour of Mylæ, and obliged them to put back into port with the loss of thirty ships¹³. This circumstance still farther confirmed Octavius in his intention to pass with his army into Sicily; and he accordingly, without meeting with any obstruction, arrived at Taurominium, and landed his forces.

Sextus Pompeius, in the mean time, having had intimation of this design, soon after the action at Mylæ, had withdrawn in the night to Messina;

¹³ Orosius, lib. vi. p. 266.

and having put fresh men on board his ships, steered for Taurominium, and came in sight of the harbour soon after the enemy had disembarked. By the unexpected appearance of a fleet much superior to his own, Octavius was greatly alarmed; and leaving the command of the forces he had just landed, to Cornificius, he ordered his ships to slip their cables, and make what sail they could to recover the harbour of Leucopetræ. He himself went on board a small pinnace, in order the better to escape the pursuit of the enemy, and with a very few attendants landed in a creek on the coast of Italy. His ships were dispersed, part taken, and many stranded on the opposite shores; but he himself made his way in the night to Leucopetræ, where a division of the army, under Messala, waited for the return of the ships in which they were to follow the former embarkation.

Octavius, without being disconcerted by this disaster, or by a consciousness of the part which he himself had acted, and which served to confirm all the former imputations of cowardice, without loss of time sent immediate dispatches to all the stations of his troops, to intimate his safe arrival in the camp of Messala. Before he shifted his wet clothes, or took any food, he made all the necessary arrangements; sent a pinnace to Cornificius, whom he had left in the command of the army in Sicily, with orders to defend himself to the last extremity; and another to Agrippa, with instructions to move as soon as he could, by sea or by land, to his relief. And he ordered Carinas, who with three legions

B O O K lay embarked at Vibo, to sail without loss of time,
V. and to join Agrippa at Liparé.

While Pompey passed with his fleet along the coast from Messina to Taurominium, he had ordered a great body of horse on the shore to keep pace, as nearly as possible, with the motion of his ships; and as they approached to Taurominium, while he himself should block up the harbour, to lay waste the country, or to restrain the foraging parties of the enemy.

Cornificius, whom Octavius had left in the command of his forces at this place, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, took his resolution to depart from the coast, and, if possible, to join Agrippa, who, he had reason to believe, might by this time have effected his landing at Mylæ, on the opposite side of the island. He accordingly endeavoured to convey intelligence of his design, and requested Agrippa to come forward to meet him with a proper force, and with the necessary supplies, to give relief to his army, and to favor his junction.

The route by which Cornificius was most likely to avoid Pompey's stations, led by the skirts of Mount Ætna, and over barren tracts that were still covered, instead of soil, with pumice and lava, which had been discharged from the mountain, and which were not any where supplied with vegetation or water. His way over this species of soil lay through difficult passes, occupied by the natives, who either harassed his rear, or disputed his passage in front. But after having undergone great labor

and distress, and having lost a considerable part of his army by fatigue and famine, he was met by Laronius, with a reinforcement of troops and supply of provisions from Agrippa; and, upon the appearance of this relief, was suffered by the enemy to continue the remainder of his march undisturbed.

Thus the two separate divisions of the army of Octavius, with which he intended at once to have attacked the opposite sides of the island, were assembled together on the northern coast. Hither he himself soon after repaired, and began his operations by land at the head of twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse, and above five thousand light or irregular infantry.

Pompey was yet strong in the neighbourhood of Messina, or in that angle of the island which pointed towards Italy. The ground being rugged and mountainous in the interior parts, forming a ridge from Mount Ætna to the head of Pelorus, his quarters were accessible only, or chiefly, by the roads on the coast, leading from Mylæ on the one hand, and from Taurominium on the other, to Messina. Of these communications he was still master, by means of the fortresses which he possessed at Mylæ, and at Taurominium. As he supposed that Lepidus, from the side of Africa, would attempt to cooperate with the forces of Octavius from Italy, he had stationed at Lilybæum a part of his fleet, and a considerable body of troops, commanded by Plennius, to oppose the descent and advances of the enemy on that quarter. The officer who had charge of his fleet on this station, had suffered the first

B O O K V. embarkation of Lepidus to escape and to effect their landing; but being so fortunate as to intercept the second, he in a great measure disconcerted the intended operation on that side.

Lepidus, with that part of the army he had landed in Sicily, remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, until having accounts that Octavius was arrived in the island, had united the different divisions of his army at Mylæ, and had obliged Sextus Pompeius to collect all his force in the neighbourhood of Messina, he supposed that the country from thence might be open to him; and he accordingly, notwithstanding that Plennius, with a considerable body of Pompey's forces, remained behind him at Lilybæum, marched from one end of the island to the other; and having effected his junction with Octavius, they determined to press upon Pompey at once with their united forces both by sea and by land.

In execution of this plan, Agrippa made a feint to land at the head of Pelorus; and having drawn the attention of the enemy to that quarter, favored the design of Octavius, who, in the mean time, surprised and took the fortrefs of Mylæ. The combined army having gained this important advantage, continued to press upon Pompey, made movements which threatened to invest Messina, and to cut off the communications of his fleet and army with the country in the neighbourhood of that city. In order to avoid these inconveniencies, Pompey found himself under a necessity to hazard a battle either by sea or by land, or wherever his antago-

nists presented an opportunity the most likely to procure him relief. He himself relied chiefly on his naval force ; and accordingly, without seeking for any advantage of situation or surprise, presented himself to the enemy near to Naulochus, between the promontories of Mylæ and Pelorus, and was there met by Agrippa.

The fleets which were now to engage, consisted of about three hundred ships on each side. When formed in order of battle, their lines were nearly of equal extent. The construction of ships was the same, and they advanced deliberately on smooth water, without any circumstance that appeared to prognosticate the victory on either side. The armies, at the same time, were drawn up on the shore, and in sight of the scene which was to be acted before them. After an obstinate fight, in which the fleet of Pompey already suffered considerably, seventeen of his ships at once withdrew from the action, and stood away for the Straits of Messina. Those that were nearest the land ran upon the shore, and were wrecked or taken ; the remainder being farther at sea, and cut off from their own harbours, struck, and delivered themselves up to the enemy.

The progress of the action at sea was accompanied from the land with shouts and acclamations on the one side, and with silent affliction, or with cries of despair, on the other. Twenty-eight ships of Pompey's fleet were sunk ; above two hundred and fifty being the whole that remained besides the

B O O K seventeen that fled to Messina, were stranded, taken,
 V. or burnt ¹⁴. Octavius lost only three ships.

Pompey perceiving the extent of his calamity, was seized with despair ; and, without having given any orders in camp, made haste to Messina. The army he had left in the field, seeing themselves deserted by their leader, went over to the enemy. He himself, at Messina, made a feint of mustering his forces as for an obstinate defence. He called in all the ships that any where remained on the coast, and all the forces that could be found on the island ¹⁵. But, in the midst of these pretended arrangements for a vigorous resistance, he had taken a resolution to depart from Sicily ; and having a vessel prepared for his reception, accordingly embarked, with his daughter, and a few persons whom he had chosen to attend him in his flight.

As soon as the vessel, on board of which it was known Pompey had embarked, appeared under sail, all the ships which were then in the harbour put to sea, with intention to follow the same course ; but without receiving any orders or intimation of a place at which to re-assemble, in case of separation. The unfortunate leader observing, among the ships that followed him, some that were commanded by officers in whom, in the present state of his fortunes, he could not confide, wished to separate from them, and gave out that he meant to avoid the coasts ; and in order to deceive them in the night, extinguishing

¹⁴ Orosius, lib. vi. c. 18.

¹⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

his lights, rowed close to the shore of Italy, and turning round the head-lands till he was opposite to Corcyra, he stood over for that island, from thence to Cephalonia, and last of all to Lesbos, where he landed at Mytilené, a place at which he had resided with his mother Cornelia, during the campaign between his father and the first Cæsar in Thessaly, and from whence he had been carried about twelve years before this date, to witness the catastrophe of his father's fortunes on the coast of Egypt. At Mytilené, notwithstanding the memory of these discouraging circumstances, and the low state of his own affairs, he met with a hospitable reception, and passed the winter in humble expectation of protection from Antony, to whose generosity he intended to commit himself.

Octavius, in the mean time, suspecting that Pompey must have taken refuge in some part of the provinces which were in the jurisdiction of his colleague, was cautious not to awaken his jealousy by presuming to violate his sanctuary, or by pretending to anticipate the resolutions he might be inclined to take on the subject of this suppliant ¹⁶.

After the head of the Pompeian party had made so wretched an exit from Sicily, Plennius, who, soon after the departure of Lepidus from the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, had set out with six legions to join his commander, and who had come too late to be comprehended in the surrender of the army at Naulochus, threw himself into Messina, more with

¹⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 18.

BOOK an intention to obtain favorable terms for the
V. troops under his command, than with any hopes to retrieve the affairs of his master.

At this time Lepidus being near to Messina, while Octavius still remained at Naulochus, invested the place, and, without consulting his colleague, granted the terms which were asked by Plennius, took possession of the town, and incorporated the troops that had served under that officer with his own army. In concluding this treaty, and in taking the advantage of it to strengthen himself, without the concurrence or participation of Cæsar, he had earnest remonstrances made to him by Agrippa, who had come with his victorious fleet to Messina; but it soon after appeared that Lepidus not only thought himself entitled to decide in that instance, but, upon the accession of strength which he now gained, began to form much higher pretensions. He now reckoned under his own standard twenty-two legions, with a numerous body of horse, and proposed not only to keep possession of Messina, but to claim the whole island of Sicily as an appendage of his province in Africa. He accordingly sent detachments to secure the principal towns.

Octavius, already provoked at the precipitation with which Lepidus had granted a capitulation to the troops at Messina, without his concurrence, loudly complained of the measures which he took to appropriate the island of Sicily to himself, without the consent of his associates in the empire; alleged that he had been called thither as a mere auxiliary, and had borne no part of the expense

incurred in the war. Lepidus, on his part, complained of the injustice which had already been done to him in withholding Spain, his original lot in the partition of the provinces; and said, if it were supposed that Africa and Sicily were more than an equivalent for Spain, he was willing to surrender them both in exchange for that province.

This dispute being likely to end in a serious quarrel, the ordinary intercourse between the two camps was discontinued, and precautions were taken by their respective officers, as in the presence of an enemy. Both armies saw with dislike the symptoms of an open rupture and of a fresh war, in which soldiers, without any prospect of advantage, even to the victors, were mutually to imbrue their hands in blood, to decide a question of mere jealousy or emulation between their leaders.

In comparing the character and prospects of the chiefs to be engaged in this quarrel, the preference in the esteem of both armies, was certainly due to Octavius. To his possession of Spain and the two Gauls, he joined that of Italy, with the metropolis, or seat of the empire. He bore the name of Cæsar, and was at the head of that formidable military power, which had broken the force of the republic, and extinguished the authority of the Senate. By his means the retainers of Cæsar had obtained the preferable lots in the late distribution of settlements and military rewards.

Lepidus, on the contrary, without any party attached to his person, and without any high reputation, had been placed in the command of armies by

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the appointment or sufferance of others. The origin of his merit with Julius Cæsar, which consisted in prostituting the dignity of Prætor to his first usurpations in the city, was an act of baseness. His place from thenceforward, in the military arrangements which ensued, was matter of course, or due merely to his rank, without any regard to abilities or merit. His being admitted as a third in the present division of the sovereignty, proceeded solely from the mutual jealousies of the other two, who wished for a person to witness their transactions, and to hold some species of balance between them. In the choice which they made of Lepidus, his want of any pretensions, that could interfere with either in the design which they severally entertained of possessing the empire, was a principal recommendation.

In this comparison, Octavius was conscious of a superiority, in the opinion even of the troops who were enlisted to serve under the command of his rival. He accordingly thought this a favorable opportunity, while Antony was at a distance, and no enemy existing, either in Sicily or Italy, to avail himself of the weakness and incapacity of Lepidus, to strip him of his share in the empire, and to seize upon the province of Africa, and the army now in Sicily, as an accession to his own strength. For this purpose he employed proper agents in the camp of Lepidus, gained many of his principal officers by presents and by the expectation of greater rewards. Having much contempt for the character of their leader, and thinking the way sufficiently prepared for an open declaration, he presented himself with

a party of horse in the front of their camp, entered with a few attendants, as into the midst of his own army; and mounting an eminence, from which he might be heard by the crowds that assembled around him, he complained of the steps which had been taken by their general toward a rupture between the two armies, and expressed his sincere desire that all differences might be removed, without engaging in new scenes of blood so many valiant men who had deserved so well of their leaders.

It appears that numbers of officers and soldiers in the camp of Lepidus were prepared for the part they were to act on this occasion; they applauded the concern which Octavius expressed for the armies, and declared themselves willing to obey his commands. Others, though not in the concert, followed this example, ran to their arms, and hastened to present Octavius with their colors, in token that they received him as their general.

Lepidus, to whom this visit and its consequences were altogether unexpected, being roused by such an alarm, ran forth to the streets of the camp, sounded to arms; and, as many of the troops from mere habit obeyed his command, without considering who was their enemy, attacked Octavius, obliged him to repass through the gate at which he had entered, and to place himself under cover of the cavalry who were waiting to receive him, and whose protection was now necessary to conduct him in safety to his own camp.

In this manner the design of Octavius, on the point of being executed, appeared to be defeated.

B O O K But his declaration had made too deep an impression
 v. to be so slightly removed. The doubts which it raised, and the choice now to be made of a leader, was generally decided in favor of Cæsar. The effect of this decision accordingly appeared in a great desertion from the camp of Lepidus, either then, or during the subsequent night. The legions, lately come over from the service of Sextus Pompeius, beginning to leave him in a body, he threw himself, with the usual guards of his person, in the way to stop them. But finding that the very body, with which he expected to prevent this desertion, joined those who were going over to the enemy, he mixed entreaties and threats, laid hold of an ensign-staff, and attempted by force to stop the officer that was carrying it to his rival. "*Dead or alive,*" said the bearer, "*you shall quit your hold.*" The cavalry at the same time mounted their horses, and, without leaving their ground, sent a message to Octavius, desiring to know, whether he chose that Lepidus should be secured or put to death? Having for answer, that Octavius had no design upon the life of their general, they moved away without any farther notice of him.

Lepidus, seeing the desertion of his army complete, and having no longer any friends or retinue to attend his person, laid aside his imperial robes, and, in the ordinary dress of a citizen, walked towards the camp and the tent of his rival. Multitudes followed him, to gratify their curiosity, in seeing what was to pass in so new a scene. A person who, the moment before, had been at the head of

a great army, and reputed a third in the sovereignty of the empire, was now, by the sudden desertion of his own troops, reduced to the condition of a private man, and was to appear as a suppliant before an antagonist whom he had recently set at defiance. To complete the scene of his humiliation, in entering the presence of Octavius, he would have thrown himself on the ground, but was prevented by the courtesy of his rival, who, content to strip him of his command, and of his personal consequence, would not accept this mark of abasement, and gave him leave to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards equally unobserved by those against whom he had been made the instrument of injustice, and by those who had made him their tool.

C H A P. VII.

Forces of Octavius after the acquisition of Sicily, and the Junction of the Armies of Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus. — Mutiny and Separation of these Forces. — Arrival of Octavius at Rome. — His Reform of the Army. — Expedition of Antony against the Parthians. — His retreat. — The Death of Sextus Pompeius. — Open Breach between Octavius and Antony. — Progress of Antony and Cleopatra towards Greece. — Operations of Antony and Octavius on the Gulph of Ambracia. — Battle of Actium. — Flight of Antony. — Immediate Arrangements of Octavius after his Victory. — Death of Antony. — And of Cleopatra.

B O O K **I**N consequence of the events which had taken place in Sicily, Octavius found himself at once at the conclusion of a hazardous war, and master of all the forces which had been employed in it, whether as friends or as enemies. His fleet now consisted of near six hundred gallies with store-ships and transports; his land-army of forty-five legions, which, though supposed to be incomplete, may have amounted to above two hundred thousand men. To these he joined above fifteen thousand horse and twenty thousand irregular infantry. They had been

levied for different masters and in different parts of the empire, were persons of different descriptions; originally slaves, as well as freemen; natives of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, mixed with Italians, and Roman citizens; adherents of Cæsar and of Pompey, of Antony, of Octavius or Lepidus. It was very difficult to dispose of an assemblage consisting of such various and discordant parts. The troops that came over from Sextus Pompeius or Lepidus were to be retained by indulgence and favors, and those who had been the original support of Cæsar's fortunes had peculiar merits; all were sensible of their own consequence, and even of a power to dispose of the empire.

Octavius saw the necessity of separating such an army into different quarters before any cabals should be formed, and before any mutinous spirits had leisure to work on their minds, or to fill them with dangerous hopes or pretensions. That they might part in good humor, he made a distribution of some money, in token of his gratitude for recent services; and promised a great deal more. But what he now gave appeared to be contemptible, when compared with the reward which had been formerly given at Mutina and at Philippi, and still more, when compared with the settlements lately made for the veterans of Cæsar in Italy. These were minutely recorded, as the standard by which every legion had formed its expectations; and a general dissatisfaction was apparent in every rank and description of men. Octavius for some time affected to be ignorant of their discontent, and would have

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proceeded to make the arrangements he had planned for separating them, and for placing the legions in quarters remote from each other; but he had reason to doubt that his orders would not be obeyed, and still remained in suspense. When his knowledge of the mutinous spirit that prevailed in the army could no longer be dissembled, he endeavoured to soothe the most clamorous by additional marks of his favor, consisting chiefly of public honors, badges of military service to the men, and the title of senators bestowed on many of the officers. In distributing these favors, he assembled the army, and made a speech, setting forth the nature of the honors which he now conferred, and his farther intentions respecting the rewards which he meant to bestow. "*These are baubles,*" said a Tribune, named Offilius, interrupting him; "*children only are amused in this manner; but men who have exposed themselves in the service of their general, expect to be rewarded with lands and settlements*." This Tribune was seconded by the clamors of the whole army. Octavius retired from the audience in some disorder; and, sensible of the danger to which he had exposed himself, from this time forward never ventured to meet these troops in a body, but employed secret arts in removing the heads of the mutiny.

The Tribune Offilius, who had dared to interrupt his general in such mutinous terms, whether

^r Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 13, 14.

won by favor, or taken off by violence, was secretly disposed of. The legions who had served at Mutina and Philippi, amounting to twenty thousand men², were separately appeased by donations and promises; were prevailed upon to accept of their discharge from the service, and, without any farther disturbance, to depart from the island.

When this part of the army was removed, Octavius affected to consider those who were gone as the sole cause of the late discontents, and *the guilty*, he said, being thus separated from the innocent and from the deserving, he made an additional present in money to those who remained, and held out the hopes of convenient settlements; and of plentiful fortunes, at the final expiration of their time in the service. By these artifices, and prudent measures, he effected the proposed separation, and extricated himself from a danger which frequently arises in the sequel of civil wars, and threatens the victor with an overthrow, from that very engine which he had employed to raise his fortunes.

Octavius, before his departure from Sicily, ordered a contribution to be levied of sixteen hundred talents³; and being no way disposed to follow out the plan of Lepidus, in the annexation of Sicily to the province of Africa, he appointed separate governors to each. Having dismissed the ships which Antony had furnished in the war, with

² Orosius, lib. vi.

³ About 175,000 l.

B O O K instructions to wait at Tarentum for the orders of
 V. their own superior, he himself passed into Italy.

The messengers who had been sent with accounts of the victories obtained by Octavius in Sicily being arrived before him at Rome, all ranks of men vied with each other in the applause which they bestowed on his conduct, and in celebrating the occasion with demonstrations of joy. In the name of the Senate and People, who had no longer any real political concessions to make, a variety of flattering proclamations were issued, ordering, in honor of the victor, statues, triumphal arches, processions, wreaths of laurel, anniversary rejoicings, and immediate thanksgivings to be prolonged beyond any former time assigned to such festivals. When he approached to the city, multitudes of every rank, adorned with chaplets, went forth to receive him, and conducted him in solemn procession to the temple, in which he was to perform the sacrifice of thanksgiving for his safe return.

Octavius, on the day after his arrival, proclaimed the peace which was obtained by the reduction of Sicily; and in two separate harangues, of which he gave copies in writing, one addressed to the Senate, the other to the People, he gave an account of his whole conduct, from the time that he first assumed the administration of the government, to the present time. And, agreeably to the dictates of that masterly judgment with which he now, at least, began to conduct the interests of his ambition, he chose this time of victory and prosperity in which to exhibit the effects of his clemency, of

his moderation, and of his disposition to spare those who, being supposed disaffected to him, were now in his power. He remitted all the arrears of taxes that were any where due within his jurisdiction, either by farmers of the revenue or by private persons. Of the honors that were decreed to himself he made choice of a few, and declined such as were in any degree invidious and burdensome to the People.

The inhabitants of Italy, and Roman citizens in general, having, among other evils, suffered greatly during the civil war, by the desertion of their slaves, who were readily received, and taken into the levies that were continually forming by different parties; Octavius took this opportunity, as far as it was in his power, at once to repair the loss which had been sustained by the master in the desertion of his slave, and to purge the army of a dangerous class of men, by whom it was overcharged and contaminated. In order to remove them in a manner that should prevent any disturbance on their part, he sent to every legion a sealed order, to be opened on a certain day, bearing, that all who had been in the condition of slaves should be secured; that as many as were claimed should be restored to their masters; and that the remainder should be put to death. According to this order, it was reported that thirty thousand were remitted to servitude, and six thousand killed^{*}.

The author of this severe, but well concerted

^{*} Orosius, lib. vi. c. 18.

B O O K reform, now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, V. had, by accommodating himself, on every occasion, to his circumstances, and by successively availing himself of the support of different parties, more especially by courting the military retainers of his late uncle, set himself above the civil constitution of his country; and now, by affecting a regard to property, to civil rank, and to the peace of his fellow-citizens, he was about to make the army itself dependent on his will. From the real impression which he made by this policy, as well as from adulation and fear, the people were still farther incited to load him with public honors, and had his effigy carried at Rome, and in every country-town of Italy, among the idols of the tutelar gods.

The advantage now gained by Octavius, in the acquisition of armies and provinces lately belonging to Lepidus, were sufficient to have alarmed the jealousy of his remaining colleague and rival in the empire, if he had not been engaged, at this time, in a very hazardous enterprise beyond the frontier of his own province.

Antony during his stay in Italy or Greece, while he was chiefly attentive to the event of affairs in the western provinces, had intrusted the Parthian war to his lieutenant Ventidius. This officer acquitted himself with great honor in the discharge of his trust, recovered the province of Syria, which had been over-run by the Parthians, and drove them back beyond the Euphrates. Upon this account, he was judged worthy of a triumph, and came into Italy to receive this honor.

In the mean time, Antony was eager to gather the laurels which yet remained in this field, or was supposed to be jealous of the victories gained by his lieutenant over an enemy, who, till then, scarcely had yielded any advantage to the Roman arms. After his last visit to Italy, he had in the winter passed to Corcyra, and so far was attended by Octavia, but parted with her there, in the prospect of this arduous service; early in the spring he continued his voyage. Upon his arrival in Asia, notwithstanding the respect that was due to his alliance with Octavia and her brother, it soon appeared that he was still under the dominion of former passions. He already had two children by the Queen of Egypt, who were named Alexander and Cleopatra, but whom the mother likewise distinguished, by the pompous appellation of the Sun and the Moon. Being prevented by the urgency of the service, at this season, from making a visit at Alexandria, he sent an officer of rank, Fonteius Capito, thither, to conduct Cleopatra from her own kingdom into Syria; and having received her in that province, in his way to the Euphrates, among other marks of his liberality, and of his passion, instead of trinkets and tokens of love, he made her a present of Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, Cyprus, and some part of Cilicia to be annexed to her kingdom. It was concerted between them, that at the end of the campaign he should pass the winter in Egypt; and they parted with mutual expressions of impatience for the return of this happy season.

The army, now mustered by Antony, consisted of sixty thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand

BOOK V. Spanish and Gaulish cavalry, thirty thousand irregulars, being an assemblage of horse and foot, and of different nations. While he advanced with this force towards the Euphrates, he made his demand, that the Parthians should restore the captives and military ensigns taken with Crassus⁵. This was become a point of national honor among the Romans, and, joined to the late provocation, was made the ground of the present quarrel.

The Roman general had undertaken this invasion of the Parthians, in concert with the king of Armenia; and finding, at his arrival on the Euphrates, all the passages of the river, contrary to his expectation, strongly guarded, he continued his march, having the Euphrates on his right. When he arrived in the Lesser Armenia, the season was too far advanced to effect the service he had planned against the Parthians; but having intelligence that the Medes, or people of the Greater Armenia, had joined the enemy against him in the preceding part of the war, he formed a design on Praaspa or Phraata⁶, the capital of their country; in expectation of taking this place by surprise, he passed the Euphrates, leaving his heavy baggage and engines, with a guard of two legions, under the command of Statianus. With the remainder of the army he penetrated into the kingdom of the Greater Armenia, and presented himself at the gates of the capital.

⁵ Plut. in Anton.

⁶ Ibid. Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 26, 27, 28.

This was a place of great strength, and every necessary precaution had been taken for its safety. Antony found that it could not be taken by assault, and the Parthians, although they hastened to its relief, knowing that the Roman army had come altogether unprepared for a siege, suffered them at first to remain before it undisturbed. They directed their whole force against Statianus, whom, with the two legions he commanded, they surprised and cut off, and by this means made themselves masters of all the equipage and baggage of the Roman army.

Antony, upon the first alarm of the enemy's intention to attack Statianus, having left the greater part of his forces before Praaspa, marched with a strong detachment to support him; but coming too late, found the field covered with the slain of the Roman legions, without either friend or enemy in fight. He understood that Artavasdes, the King of Armenia, to whose alliance he trusted in the present war, had remained an unconcerned spectator of this disaster, and he made no doubt that he was betrayed by this prince; but thought proper for the present to disguise his resentment. The loss he had sustained, made it necessary for him to think of extricating his army from its present situation. Being alarmed for the safety of that part of it which he had left before Praaspa, he, with hasty marches, returned to its relief; but, at his arrival, finding no enemy near, and still flattering himself that the town might be obliged to surrender, and that it might, by its spoils, make up for the loss

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of his baggage, he lay before it, until he had exhausted all the provisions and forage that was to be found in the neighbouring country; and, in proportion as the other difficulties of his situation increased, began to feel himself harassed with the sallies of a powerful garrison, and the frequent attacks of numerous parties of Parthians in the field, who began to act against him from every quarter, and made it equally difficult for him to decamp, or to subsist on his present ground.

Under these difficulties, the Roman general was frequently obliged to divide his forces; and leaving part to awe the town, marched with the remainder to cover his foragers, and the providers of his camp. As the enemy pressed upon him, in order to diminish the range from which he received his provisions, he saw the necessity of hazarding a battle; and for this purpose, marched from his camp with ten legions, three Prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry. The Parthians affected to abide his attack, but gave way at the first onset, and fled with every appearance of rout and confusion: they were pursued by the Roman infantry for fifty stadia, or about six miles, and by the cavalry over a hundred and fifty stadia, or about eighteen miles.

In this action, Antony flattered himself that he had put an end to his troubles from the Parthians; but, on numbering the prisoners and the slain, he found that only eighty of the enemy were killed, and thirty taken; and, on returning to his camp before the town of Praaspa, he found, that without being at all disconcerted by what had happened to

them, they were returned to their former stations, and took measures as before, to harass his camp, and to circumscribe his foraging parties. From this specimen of a victory over the Parthians, he learned to despair of being able to gain any advantage over an enemy, whose defeats were more pernicious to their antagonists than they were to themselves⁷. To complete his mortifications, he found

⁷ Among the Romans who were seized with the passion of making offensive war on the Parthians, Julius Cæsar is mentioned. And it is a problem, which never can be solved, in what manner this able statesman and warrior would have acquitted himself in so arduous a task. The Parthians had their haunts beyond the Tigris; and besides leaving no means on the frontier, by which an enemy could subsist in approaching them, probably presented no hold by which they could be seized, even in their own country. As they had no ground which it was absolutely necessary for them to defend, so there was no ground on which an invader could be secure from their attacks. They gave way while an enemy advanced, and reckoned it an advantage to draw him far from his resources and supports. They waited with patience, till time, hardships, disease, or want of provisions had rendered him an easy prey, or ripe for destruction; and they then pressed upon him with a ferocity and ardor, which abundantly corrected any belief of their cowardice that might have been taken from their manner of receiving his first attacks.

If Cæsar had not already conceived some new or uncommon means of reducing them, it is probable, that his first observations would have satisfied him, that he could not conquer such a people, although he might, in time, have settled a new nation on the Tigris to supplant them; and it is probable that he would have availed himself of

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that the garrison of Praaspa had made a powerful sally in his absence, driven his guards from their approaches, and destroyed all the works he had constructed against the town^{*}. Judging it in vain to renew his attack, or to remain any longer in his present situation, he sent a deputation to Phraates, probably rather to conceal his intended purpose of flight, than with hopes to obtain any reasonable terms of peace.

The King of Parthia received the message of Antony, seated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bended bow, the emblem of war. In order to sound the intentions of the Roman general, he proposed, as a preliminary to peace, that he should raise the siege of Praaspa. Antony was prepared to decamp, as soon as his messengers should be out of the hands of the enemy, but affected reluctance in agreeing to this condition, hoping that by these means he might conceal his intention, gain a few marches a head, and reach the frontier of the Lesser Armenia, before the Parthians could take any advantage of his flight; but the king being equally refined in his artifices, perceived, in the affected reluctance of Antony to agree to what he knew to be necessary, an intention to fly, without waiting the result of a treaty; and, in this appre-

some of their ordinary flights, to lay claim to a victory, and thus, with more ability than others of his countrymen, finish the war with a triumph at Rome.

^{*} Plut. in Antonio.

hension, he had his cavalry already prepared to pursue him, disputed every pass, hung upon his rear and upon his flanks, occupied the springs of water, and laid waste the country before him.

Many of the Roman army, overcome by famine and fatigue, expired on the march; others had laid down their arms, and submitted to the enemy. But those who had surrendered themselves, being cruelly treated, served, by their example, to check the inclination of others to sue for quarter, and taught the soldier to look for safety only in perseverance, and in the use of his arms. Antony himself, in every encounter, was prepared for the last extremity, and had a person retained, with orders, in case of his being likely to fall into the enemy's hands, to end his life; or, in case he were killed in battle, to disfigure his body, that it might not be known. But he passed through all these difficulties, as usual, with uncommon constancy and valor, making, in twenty-one days, a march of three hundred miles⁹, under a continual attack of the enemy, in which, it is reckoned that his army was eighteen times engaged in battle¹⁰. At the end of this march, in reviewing the legions, with which he began the retreat, it was found, he had lost about a fourth of their number¹¹; or, as Plutarch states his loss, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

⁹ Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxix. &c.

¹⁰ Plut. in Antonio.

¹¹ Vel. Pater. lib. ii. c. 82.

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cius,
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peius.

It appears that Antony, upon his arrival in the Lesser Armenia, left a considerable body behind him in that country, to check the farther pursuit of the enemy¹², and with the remainder of the army, proceeding from thence with great precipitation, and under great hardships from the season, by which he added eight thousand men more to his former losses, he arrived at Comi, a small sea-port, between Berytus and Sidon, on the coast of Syria. At this place, he was received by Cleopatra on board her fleet, and with her effected his passage by sea to Alexandria, where he endeavoured to conceal his losses, and to efface the memory of his sufferings in the midst of dissipation and pleasure.

During the dependance of these events, the state of the war in Asia had been variously reported in the western parts of the empire. It was believed for some time, that the Roman army in Armenia, with its leader, had perished. On this supposition, Sextus Pompeius, who still remained in the Island of Lesbos, began to resume his pretensions. He was not without hopes, that on the demise of Antony, the armies of Asia might declare for himself, and, during some time, affected to receive every person who repaired to him, as the head of a party that was still of some consideration in the empire. He even proceeded to solicit the alliance of all the provinces of the East, from Thrace to Pontus, and the banks of the Euphrates¹³. But upon the

¹² Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 30.

¹³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

report of Antony's return into Syria, he laid aside his ambitious thoughts, and sent a message to sue for protection. Among other particulars, he set forth, that he had committed himself to the justice and clemency of Antony, not from despair, or from any sudden impulse whatever, but from previous thought and mature deliberation. He might have had a safe retreat, and a powerful support, he said, in Spain, where the friends of his father were yet numerous, and full of zeal; but from a thorough conviction, that the interests of Antony were the same with his own, he had preferred his alliance to any other. "Octavius," he continued, "will soon have the same quarrel with you, that he has lately had with me, and afterwards with Lepidus. He considers the empire as his property, and cannot endure a partner. His open force is not so dangerous, as the insidious professions, and the artful disguises with which he hides his designs. I make you an offer of a friendship that is sincere, and of a faith that is yet unbroken. I made you the same offer, while I was master of Sicily and Sardinia, and in the height of my fortune. By accepting of it, you will save the remains of a family, yet respected by the Roman People; and, by joining with me, you will gain the accession of a party, whom even adversity has not made to abandon their leader."

While Sextus Pompeius addressed himself to Antony in these terms, he endeavoured to preserve the appearance of an armed force, and hovered about with some ships on the coast of Ionia. Being pur-

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fued by Titius, who had orders from Antony to observe his motions, he sailed up the Propontis, and put into the harbour of Nicomedia. Here he again offered to negotiate ¹⁴; but being told that he must surrender at discretion, he set fire to his ships, and attempted to escape by land. Having got into Phrygia, he was taken in his flight, and soon after, by order of Antony, was put to death.

This event being known at Rome, Octavius ordered public rejoicings. Among these was a solemn procession, led by two carriages or chariots of state: in one of them, Octavius himself appeared; by the other he marked the place that was due to Antony. Still farther to sooth the jealousy of his colleague in the empire, he gave orders that a statue should be erected to him in the Temple of Concord, and that he should have a share in the honors which had been recently decreed to himself. This indecent triumph over the last of a family, which had been so long in high estimation at Rome, was far from being acceptable to the People. The misfortunes of the young man himself, who from his earliest years had been an exile, and stript of his inheritance, the memory of his father and of the republic, filled the minds of men with secret indignation, and with a tender melancholy which they could not disguise; and though Octavius himself escaped on this occasion without any public insult, yet Titius some time afterwards exhibiting public shows in the theatre of the great Pompey, was, on

¹⁴ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 18.

account of the part which he had taken in the murder of the son, driven from thence by the execrations of the People ¹⁵.

The forces of the empire were now parcelled in two separate lots, under the direction of masters, who were soon to entertain the views and the jealousies of separate monarchs. Octavius was become the sovereign of Rome, and occupied chiefly in removing obstructions to his government, and in consolidating the arrangements he had made in the state. He had taken measures to repress many disorders, the dregs of the civil wars, which still afflicted the city and the contiguous provinces. He had brought his armies under tolerable discipline, and even in a great measure reconciled the People to the loss of their political consequence, and of their liberties. He took care to destroy, with much ostentation, all papers and records from which those, who had acted against himself, might fear being drawn into trouble. He retained the usual names, and the forms of office; and wherever he himself was to exercise any uncommon power, he talked of it as a mere temporary expedient to obviate the disorders of the times, and spoke of his intention, in concert with Antony, to discontinue every irregular mode of administration, as soon as the war with the Parthians should be brought to a period. He even sent Bibulus into the East, with open and public instructions to concert with his colleague, the manner and time of their resignation ¹⁶.

¹⁵ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 79.

¹⁶ Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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But Antony, acting as sovereign of the eastern empire, appeared on his part to be altogether intent on the entertainments of the court at Alexandria, on the renewal of the war which he affected to meditate against the Parthians, or on his project against Artavasdes, the king of the Lesser Armenia, who he thought had betrayed him in his late expedition. He was encouraged in his designs on that quarter, by the offers of a league, which were made to him from the king of Media, who thinking his services, during the late invasion ill requited by the Parthians, was now disposed to take arms against them.

Antony having accepted of this alliance, formed the project of a new invasion of Armenia, chiefly intent on his design to get the person of Artavasdes into his power; but he was, for one season, diverted from the execution of his purpose, by an incident which brought into the scale of public councils the weight of passions and of motives at all times powerful; and at a time when the world was to be governed by the humors of a few persons, scarcely to be balanced by any other consideration whatever.

Octavia was become impatient of the neglect with which she was treated by her husband, and jealous of the preference which he gave to Cleopatra. Hearing that he was to leave Alexandria on a new Parthian expedition, she determined to place herself in his way as he passed through Syria. To enhance the pleasure of their meeting, she was furnished with a variety of presents, and, among the rest, attended by a body of two thousand chosen

men, clothed and accoutred in the manner of the Prætorian bands, which had been formed by her brother for the guard of his own person, and which he now sent as a token of friendship to Antony. She was arrived in Greece with this attendance, when her intention became known in Egypt ¹⁷.

On hearing of this journey of Octavia. Cleopatra being greatly alarmed, had the address to appear sunk under a weight of affliction, which she affected to bear with fortitude; but was sometimes surprised in tears, which she endeavoured to dry up, and either increased the anguish of real passion, or gave more appearance of sincerity to her dissimulation, by her affectation of a desire to conceal what she felt. Her health, in appearance, declined, and it was whispered, that her life was in danger. She herself continued obstinate in her silence; but her confidants insinuated that the fear of losing Antony was the cause of her distress, and that the day he left Alexandria, would probably be the last of her life. Thus, with a mixture probably of artifice and real passion, not uncommon in cases of this sort, the Queen of Egypt had the address to retain Antony at Alexandria, and prevailed on him to send a peremptory order to Octavia, not to advance in her intended progress to the East. He excused himself at the same time, from even accepting the presents which she brought from her brother ¹⁸.

Upon the return of Octavia to Rome, under all

¹⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. Plut. in Antonio.

¹⁸ Plut. in Antonio.

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the circumstances of this affront, her brother proposed that she should renounce her connexion with Antony, and remove from his house; but if in this he wished her to act from resentment, her own conduct, though proceeding from a different motive, was better calculated to unite the people in avenging her quarrel. Being willing to await the return of her husband's inclinations, she remained at the head of his family, continued to manage his affairs, and acted in every particular as the mother of his children, even of those by a former marriage, and undertook the protection of such adherents and friends as came to solicit their affairs in the Capitol¹⁹.

The unworthy treatment which Octavia received in return for so much duty, as it interested the public in her favor, so it gave an immediate prospect of a breach between the leaders, who now divided the empire. Antony and Octavius had been rivals for the succession of Cæsar's power, had frequent quarrels, which were suspended from time to time by apparent and ambiguous reconciliations. Even the marriage of Octavia, was no more than a mere expedient to put off to a more convenient time a final breach, which, between parties of such opposite pretensions, must in the end be deemed unavoidable.

It is probable that Octavius, in all the vicissitudes of his connexion with Antony, or with any other party, had never lost sight of the expectations he had

¹⁹ Plut. in Antonio.

formed from his earliest youth, not only as the heir of Julius Cæsar, but as the successor likewise to his power in the commonwealth. He united or broke with different parties, according to the state of his affairs, and procured these breaches or coalitions in the precise conjunctures that were most favorable to himself. He at one time joined with the Senate, and the assassins of his uncle, to pull down the power of Antony; he afterwards joined with Antony to reduce the Senate, and to destroy the republic. He courted Antony occasionally, to prevent his forming any dangerous combination with Sextus Pompeius or with Lepidus, and, in general, kept terms with him, while either of these leaders continued to be formidable, or could cast the balance by uniting against him.

This refined politician, upon becoming sole master of Italy, and of the western provinces, was now better enabled, than formerly, to brave the power of his remaining competitor in the empire; and he prepared for a contest, which could not be long avoided. He had greatly reduced his military establishment, by purging his armies of improper subjects, not only the armies which had come over to him from his antagonists, Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus, but those likewise which had been levied in common between Antony and himself. But even, after he had thus dismissed such as were of doubtful faith, and reduced his establishment to that measure which he wished to maintain, he had still remaining a greater number than his present occasions seemed to require, and he sought for pretences,

B O O K under which, in the present state of tranquillity to
v. which his division of the empire was reduced, he might avoid giving any alarm to his rival, and justify his maintaining so great a military force. For this purpose probably it was, that he formed the project of a war first in Africa, in the execution of which, he actually passed into Sicily, and being there some time detained by contrary winds, he changed his object, and sent the army destined for Africa to the opposite side of Italy, beyond the Adriatic, to make war on the Japydes, Savi, Pannonii, and other nations on the side of Illyricum, who were more likely than the Africans to furnish his troops with the experience of real service, as well as himself with a plausible pretence for keeping them on foot. They accordingly penetrated, by his orders, beyond the frontier of the empire on that side, and were employed to gather laurels at the expense of the barbarians, by whom, he alledged, that his provinces had been often infested.

U. C. 719. In the mean while, according to the arrangements that were made relating to the succession of Consuls, Antony was elected into this office; and though not present in person on the first of January, had his name entered on the record. In accepting of this nomination, he meant no more than to ascertain his right to dispose of the Consulship, and had given a commission, by which, on the very day of his admission, he vacated the office in favor of another, and brought forward a number of his friends in the course of the year. He wished by these means to make known, that although Octavius was

L. Scribonius Libo, M. Antonius, absens.

L. Sempronius Atratinus. Ex Kal. Julii.

Paul. Æmilius, C. Memius. Ex Kal. Nov.

M. Herennius.

pleased to occupy the seats of government; yet he was not to engross for his friends and retainers the ordinary honors that were enjoyed in the state. C H A P.
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Octavius, probably, treading as nearly as he could in the steps of his late uncle, still sought for occasions to keep his armies in service; and although he was not inclined to make war abroad, or make new acquisitions of territory to the empire, yet he affected to have many designs which required the possession of a military force. Among these, he projected an enterprize for the reduction of Britain, made the necessary preparations, and proceeded himself to the northern parts of Gaul. Here, however, his attention was again diverted to a different quarter. Having an army employed on the side of Illyricum, in separate divisions, under Agrippa and other officers, Messala and Geminus, whose names only are known; it was reported, that the division under Geminus, acting in Pannonia, had received a check, and been obliged to retire from some parts of the country they had formerly occupied. Upon this alarm, Octavius himself thought proper to lay aside his design upon Britain; but finding, upon his arrival in Illyricum, that the supposed loss was already repaired, the enemy in different encounters defeated, and the former ground of his army recovered, he himself joined Agrippa, who was employed against the Dalmatians, and continued for some months to take a part in the campaign with this favorite officer²⁰.

²⁰ Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 39.

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Antony, at the same time, as if equally disposed to have an army inured to service, fought likewise for occasions of war; and having quieted the jealousies of Cleopatra, by a seemingly irreconcilable breach with her rival, was permitted to form projects of enterprize beyond the limits of Egypt. He renewed his designs against the Kings of Armenia and Parthia. In the spring, he advanced to Nicopolis, a place so named, from the victory of Pompey over Mithridates; and supposing that the treachery of Artavasdes, in betraying Statianus, would justify any measures he could take against him, he sent repeated messages, under pretence of friendship, desiring a conference; but with a real intention of seizing his person. The more effectually to remove all suspicions of any such design, he proposed a marriage between Alexander, one of his own sons by Cleopatra, and the daughter of that prince; but not succeeding in this artifice, he advanced into the heart of Armenia, and threatened to lay the kingdom waste with fire and sword. The king being unprepared for defence, took his resolution at last to try the sincerity of Antony's professions, and was actually taken.

The first advantage which the Roman general proposed to make of this capture, was exacting a ransom; and for this purpose, the king, being carried round the fortresses of his kingdom in which the royal treasure had been deposited, was made to demand great sums of money under this pretence; but the officers, to whom this demand was addressed, knowing that their sovereign was a prisoner,

shut

shut their gates against him, and refused to comply. C H A P.
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The army of Armenia at the same time assembled, and considering the throne as vacant, placed upon it Artaxes, the eldest son of their captive king. Being led by this young prince into immediate action with the Romans, they were defeated, and he himself was obliged to take refuge with the Parthians.

Antony contented with this victory, which gave him possession of the country, put his army into winter-quarters, in the lesser Armenia, and entered into a defensive treaty with the King of Media, whose daughter, upon that occasion, was betrothed to the same son of Cleopatra, whose proposed marriage with the daughter of Artavasdes had been employed as a snare to betray that prince.

At the conclusion of these transactions, Antony set out on his return to Egypt, and meditating a triumphal procession into the city of Alexandria, destined his captive for a part in the scene, gave orders that he should be conducted thither in chains; and accordingly, upon the arrival of the troops and the equipage which were to form his retinue he made his entry with all the parade of a Roman triumph, repeated all the forms which were usual on such occasions at Rome, made a speech to the People, and ordered a public feast. In these several particulars, seeming to place the inhabitants of Alexandria upon a foot of equality with the Roman People, and prostituting a solemn institution of the Romans to the vanity of a barbarous court, he gave much scandal and offence at Rome. Every circumstance being exaggerated by his enemies, his

B O O K own extravagance gained a ready belief to every report that was circulated against him.

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It has been observed, on different occasions, that Antony, although he stemmed the current of adversity with vigor and ability, was generally carried by prosperity into every excess of sensuality, extravagance, and dissipation. In this time of festivity, he assumed, in the midst of his debauch, not only the eastern dress, and all the badges of royalty, but likewise ²¹ the attire and designation of a God; wore the buskins, the golden crown, and the chaplet of ivy belonging to Bacchus, held the Thyrsus in his hand, and was drawn through the streets of Alexandria on a car like those which were employed in the processions of the Gods ²². It was said, that Cleopatra at the same time assumed the dress of Isis; that being seated together on thrones of gold, elevated on a lofty platform, Antony presented Cleopatra to the People, as Queen not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but likewise of Africa and Cælesyria, and that he associated with her in these titles Cæsarion, her supposed son by Julius Cæsar. To his own son Alexander, in these drunken assignments of empire, it was reported that he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, which, though not in his possession, he considered as a certain conquest: to Ptolomy, another of his sons, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia ²³, and presented each of them to the

²¹ Florus, lib. iv. c. 11. Dio Cass. lib. l. c. 5.

²² Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 83.

²³ Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 41.

People in the dress, and with the ensigns and the retinue suited to the several destinations; Alexander, with the Persian tiara; and Ptolomy, with the dress and diadem worn by the princes of Macedonia.

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This mock-distribution of the eastern kingdoms was executed in formal deeds or writings, of which copies were ordered to Rome to be deposited in the records of the Temple of Vesta, and in the keeping of the Virgins. And as Octavius looked forward to an immediate quarrel with Antony, the whole circumstances with which these acts had been solemnized at Alexandria, were industriously published at Rome to his prejudice. The writings, however, not being actually brought to the city before the subsequent year, in which Domitius and Sosius were Consuls, part of the scandal was for some time secreted by the influence of these magistrates, who were inclined to favor Antony against Octavius in the impending contest for empire.

While Antony indulged himself in these extravagances at Alexandria, Octavius, with L. Volcatius Tullus, assumed the title of Consuls at Rome; but the first, at his admission, thought proper to follow the example that was lately set to him by Antony; on the first of January vacated the office, and substituted another in his place. By like successive substitutions, he communicated this dignity in the course of the year to six different persons.

The office of Ædile, which had been generally declined on account of the expense which attended the discharge of it, and which had been for some

U. C. 720.
Imper. Cæsar iterum.
L. Volcatius Tullus.

P. Autronius Pætus.
ex Kal. Mart.
L. Flavius.

Ex Kal. Jul.
C. Fonteius.

M. Acilius Aviola.
ex Kal. Sept.
L. Vinucius.

Ex Kal. Oct.
L. Lavonius.

B O O K V. time discontinued, was now revived in the person of Agrippa, who, though he had been already of a higher rank, and in the station of Consul, voluntarily undertook the duties of Ædile; and, at his own expense, applied himself to the more serious object of the trust, by constructing highways, erecting public works, and cleansing the common sewers, works of great antiquity that seemed to exceed the force of the times to which they were referred²⁴. He at the same time repaired the Circus, made new regulations for conducting the entertainments of that place, and himself exhibited magnificent shows.

Under this magistracy of Agrippa, the People were gratified with presents, as well as with pastimes. Articles of finery, trinkets, and even sums of money were distributed by a species of lottery. Counters or billets, entitling the bearer to certain prizes, which were marked upon each, were thrown out by handfuls to be scrambled for in the crowd. Public baths, furnished with all the usual apparatus, were provided, and attended with keepers and dressers at the public expense²⁵; acts of munificence and popularity, in which it was thought proper to cultivate the public favor.

Octavius at the same time, on so near a prospect of a quarrel with Antony, who was to employ half the forces of the empire against him, had the good fortune to disengage himself from foreign wars.

²⁴ Plinius, lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

²⁵ Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 43.

Those which he carried on in Dalmatia, terminated in the submission of that people, in their giving hostages for their good behaviour, and in their restoring the colors which had been taken from a Roman army they had defeated under the conduct of Vatinius. These he hung up in a portico, which bore his own name; but a triumph being decreed to him, he declined or deferred accepting of it; on this, as on many other occasions, discovering a mind, though fond of dominion, indifferent to pomp, and the exterior appearances of power.

Antony passed the summer at the head of his army in Syria, without having made any attempt against the Parthians. He renewed his defensive alliance with the King of Media; and the parties in this treaty, being to name the powers against whom they respectively wished, in the event of a war, to secure an alliance, the King of Media made particular mention of the Parthians, and Antony named Octavius. At the end of this negociation, they mutually made an exchange of some troops²⁶.

Thus Antony made no secret of the distrust which he conceived of his colleague in the empire, or of a breach, which, from their mutual jealousies and provocations, was gradually widening. He affected to treat Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, as the legitimate heir of the Julian family. He likewise retorted on Octavius, the artifice which had been practised against himself, by professing an intention to resign the power

²⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 44.

B O O K of Triumvir. He complained of the violence
 V. which had been done to Lepidus; but asked, if Lepidus were justly deposed, why he himself was not admitted to his share in the provinces? He complained of his being excluded from a share in the spoils of Sextus Pompeius, as well as of Lepidus; and of his being excluded from Italy, which was the common seat of government to the whole empire, and which Octavius had not any right to appropriate to himself.

To these complaints Octavius replied, That Antony, without making any compensation to his colleagues in the western provinces, had seized on the kingdom of Egypt; that he had unwarrantably put Sextus Pompeius to death; that he had dishonoured the Roman name by his breach of faith with the King of Armenia, and had given no account at Rome of the spoils of that kingdom; that he had presumed to dismember the Roman empire in behalf of Cleopatra, and of her children; and that he supported her in an attempt to intrude into the family of Cæsar one of her spurious progeny²⁷.

These mutual complaints were publicly made, and supported at Rome. Neither of the parties professed any intention of going to war; but, under various pretences, collected money, and augmented their forces. They held a continual correspondence by agents and messengers, merely to have an opportunity of observing each others

²⁷ Dio Cass. b. l. c. i.

motions; and soon involved in their disputes and jealousies, not only their own immediate retainers and friends, but such as now composed the Senate and assemblies of the People, who could not remain unconcerned spectators in a difference between persons who were likely again to involve the empire itself in a civil war.

Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Caius Sotius, having in consequence of preceding engagements succeeded to the Consulship, and being attached to Antony, openly espoused his cause. Sotius, on the first of January, in entering upon his office, ventured to arraign the conduct of Octavius, enumerated the injuries which he had offered to Antony, and moved the Senate for redress.

Octavius, having previous intimation of what was to be moved by the Consul, and wishing to know the full extent of the charge before he should be obliged to reply, on that day absented himself from the Senate; but took care to have Nonius, one of the Tribunes of the People, prepared to watch over his interest, and to put a negative on any proceeding that might be attempted to his prejudice. At the next assembly of the Senate, he appeared with a numerous body of armed men, seated himself between the Consuls, and from that place made his answer to the accusations, which in the former meeting had been stated against him, and retorted much blame on his enemies. He called upon Antony, in particular, to return into Italy, and to resign the Triumvirate, the period for

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U. C. 721.
Cn. Domi-
tius Ahenobarbus,
Caius Sotius.
Ex. Kal. Jul.
L. Corne-
lius.
ex. Kal. Nov.
U. Valerius.

B O O K V. which that temporary power was created being now expired ²⁸.

To this defiance, on the part of Octavius, no reply being made by the friends of Antony, the assembly was adjourned for some days, during which time both the Consuls thought proper to withdraw from the city; and not supposing themselves safe within the jurisdiction of a person against whom they had taken so hostile a part, continued their retreat into Asia, where Antony, whose cause they espoused, had the means to protect them.

Octavius, pleased to find himself, by the flight of the ordinary magistrates, left master of the city, and freed from the necessity of employing immediate force against the forms of commonwealth, gave them no interruption, nor attempted to prevent their escape. He even gave out, that these officers had withdrawn by his permission, and that every one else who was disposed to join his antagonist, might follow their example ²⁹.

Antony, when he received an account of what was thus passing at Rome, being arrived in the Lesser Armenia, on his last expedition into that country, assembled all the Senators of his party who were then with his army, laid before them his grounds of complaint against Octavius, renounced in form his marriage with Octavia, and declared war on her brother ³⁰. At the same time, he took

²⁸ Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxii.

²⁹ Dio Cass. lib. l. c. 2.

³⁰ Ibid. c. 3.

a solemn oath, in which he bound himself, at the end of six months, after he should have relieved Italy from the tyranny of Octavius, to restore the government entire to the Senate and People, agreeably to the ancient constitution. Having taken this method to gain all those who wished for the restoration of the commonwealth, and having remitted great sums of money into Italy, to be dealt out in presents and gratuities to the army of his rival ³¹, instead of pursuing the pretended object of the war in Armenia, he put his army in motion westward. Having Canidius advanced with sixteen legions, he himself conducting the Queen of Egypt, who was to have her share in the enterprize, took the route of Ephesus, where all his ships were ordered to assemble. Of these he had eight hundred sail, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred completely equipped, together with twenty thousand talents in money ³².

The Consuls Domitius and Sosius having joined Antony at Ephesus, and finding all his councils governed by the caprice of Cleopatra, and all his measures made subservient to her vanity or interest, warmly recommended that the Queen of Egypt should return into her own kingdom, and there remain until the war should be at an end; but she, dreading the loss of her influence, the restoration of Octavia, and a reconciliation of parties, to which her pretensions, interest, and passions must be the

³¹ Dio Cass. lib. 1. c. 7.

³² Plut. in Antonio, near three millions sterling.

B O O K first sacrifice, employed all her artifice to defeat
 V. their counsel, and to maintain her ascendant over Antony. For this purpose, with more care and assiduity than she mustered the forces of her allies, or collected the resources of her kingdom for the support of the war, she assembled from every quarter the means of dissipation, and the instruments of pleasure.

Many Roman officers, who had hitherto embarked their fortunes with Antony, disgusted by the appearances of levity and dissipation which attended him on this occasion, withdrew from his cause, and threw themselves into the arms of his enemy. Plancus, in particular, with Titius, long dissatisfied with the influence and conduct of Cleopatra, deserted him. They brought with them into Italy particular accounts of Antony's levity, and of Cleopatra's insolent speeches, insinuating that she flattered herself with the hopes of becoming mistress of the Roman empire. They produced copies of Antony's will, already mentioned as having been sent to the records of the Vestals, and which, by its extravagance, procured credit to every other report which was raised to his prejudice, so much as to make it believed, that if he should prevail in the contest with Octavius, he meant to declare Cleopatra Queen of the Romans, and to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria.

These reports tending to render Antony an object of ridicule, or of scorn, were propagated with great effect among the People. They were even introduced in the Senate, and employed as the pre-

tence for a motion that was made to divest him of his present command in the East, and of that share of the sovereignty which he held in the capacity of Triumvir, and to declare him incapable of holding the office of Consul, to which he was destined for the ensuing year.

Plancus, in support of the motion that was made to this purpose, urging, together with the reports now mentioned, the manifold disorders which were imputed to Antony, and the many offences he had committed against the commonwealth, was answered with great courage and asperity, by persons who still ventured to espouse the cause of the absent Triumvir. "While you were of his councils," said Coponius to Plancus on this occasion, "I doubt not but the conduct of Antony was sufficiently blamable³³."

Octavius, however, being master at Rome, the motion was carried, and a decree was obtained, in consequence of it, to suspend Marc Antony in the exercise of all his powers. War at the same time was formally declared against the Queen of Egypt, while Octavius, with his usual discretion, to avoid making enemies unnecessarily of those who must have been involved with Antony in any personal attainer, did not include him in this declaration. A proclamation however was published, "requiring all citizens to withdraw themselves from Antony, as being abandoned to the caprices of a stranger, and a woman, who, by a kind of

³³ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 83.

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“ fascination, led him in her train, and prevailed
 “ upon him to countenance, against his own coun-
 “ try, a war which was to be conducted by the eu-
 “ nuchs Mardio and Pothinus, keepers of the palace
 “ of Alexandria; and by Ira and Charmion, the
 “ waiting-women of Cleopatra, who hoped soon to
 “ reign in the capital of the Roman empire, as
 “ absolutely as they had for some time governed
 “ in the provinces of the East ³⁴.”

In the sequel of these declarations, some taxes for the expense of the war were laid on the inhabitants of Italy; an uncommon stretch of power, which, on the approach of an enemy who was likely to divide the People, appeared to be impolitic and dangerous. All freed slaves, having two hundred sestertia or upwards, were required to pay an eighth of their effects, free citizens were required to pay a fourth of their yearly revenue; and these exactions being violently enforced, gave rise in many places to insurrection and bloodshed ³⁵; and the minds of men being greatly agitated, reports of presages and prodigies were circulated as usual, in times of great alarm, and on the eve of important events.

Antony, in the mean time, advanced with his fleet and army from Ephesus to Samos, and from thence to Athens, where, together with the Queen of Egypt, he was received with a flattering pageantry, and with many complimentary addresses, in

³⁴ Plut. in Antonio.

³⁵ Dio Cass. lib. l. c. 10.

composing which, this people now exercised that ingenuity for which they were formerly celebrated in conducting matters of state and of war. Cleopatra was admitted to the freedom of the city of Athens. Antony, being already a citizen, led the procession, in which the republic came to confer this honor on the Queen; and made her a speech in name of his fellow-citizens, the Athenian people.

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From thence Antony proceeded to the island of Corcyra, where all his forces assembled, and seemed to threaten Italy with an immediate invasion. He had undoubtedly got the start of his antagonist, might have surprised him, and divided the inhabitants of Italy, and other parts of the western empire. Of these, numbers were discontented on account of recent exactions, many were disposed to favor the absent party, or from animosity to a government, under which they had experienced oppression, were desirous of any change.

With all these advantages in his favor, Antony either never had the intention to invade Italy in the present season, or laid it aside, and determined to pass the winter in Greece. He sent his fleet into the gulph of Ambracia, and quartered his army in the Peloponnesus, or round the gulph of Corinth, where, besides the ordinary resources of the country, they had continual supplies of every necessary by sea, from Asia and Egypt.

By the last arrangement, which had been concerted between Octavius and Antony, for the succession of Consuls during eight years, of which this

U. C. 722.
Imper. Cæf.
Mar. Val.
Messala

B O O K was the last, they themselves were now to have
V. entered on the office; but Antony being set aside
 by a public act of the Senate and People, Octavius
 assumed for his colleague Messala, already menti-
 oned as the particular friend of Marcus Brutus.
 This almost only remaining partisan of the republic
 had been among the proscribed, but was afterwards
 taken into favor, and reconciled to the successor
 of Cæsar ³⁶.

Corfinus.
 ex Kal. Mart.
 M. Titius,
 ex Kal. Oct.
 Cn. Pom.
 peius.

Octavius now holding the office of Roman Con-
 sul, endeavoured to sink, under this designation
 of a legal magistrate, his pretensions as a military
 adventurer, and qualified the troops, which he
 employed against Antony, as the forces of the
 commonwealth, assembled to repel the attack of a
 foreign enemy. He drew them together on the coast
 of Apulia, and while he stationed the greater part
 of his fleet in two divisions at Brundisium and
 Tarentum, sent Agrippa with a squadron to ply off
 the harbours of Greece, and to interrupt the naval
 communication of the enemy.

By the vigilance and activity of Agrippa, many
 captures were made in the winter, and the convey-
 ance of corn, arms, and military stores from Asia,
 Syria, and Egypt, intended for the use of Antony's
 fleet and army ³⁷, was rendered difficult and
 extremely precarious. To supply their necessities,
 both his sea and land-forces were obliged to plun-
 der the country around them; and, in the want of

³⁶ Dio Cass. lib. l. c. 10.

³⁷ Oros. lib. vi. c. 19.

horses and carriages, drove the inhabitants like beasts of burden, laden with corn and other provisions, to the sea-coast. Antony, when he joined his fleet at Actium, being told that half his rowers had perished from scarcity and disease: "*The oars,*" he said, "*I hope are safe* ³⁸."

In the mean time, Octavius brought his land-forces to Brundisium and Tarentum; and either to show the strength of his party, or to secure the persons of those of whose fidelity he entertained any doubt, summoned all the Roman citizens of note to attend him on the coast. From thence, in order to profit by Antony's delay, and to fix the theatre of the war in Greece he embarked with his army, and stood for the opposite coast of Epirus. He landed under the promontory of Acroceraunus, the same place at which Julius debarked in pursuit of the war with Pompey; and from this place, ordering the fleet to coast round the head-lands; and the island of Corcyra, he marched with the army along shore towards the gulph of Ambracia.

This gulph opens into the channel that separates the islands of Corcyra, Leucada, and Cephalonia. It is narrow at its entrance ³⁹; but is wider within ⁴⁰, and stretches eastward ⁴¹ about twenty or thirty miles. At its opening, on the southern shore,

³⁸ Oros. lib. vi. c. 19.

³⁹ About half a mile, or five stadia.

⁴⁰ One hundred stadia.

⁴¹ Stretches in land three hundred stadia. Polyb. lib. iv.

BOOK V. stood Actium, and opposite to this place stood Toryné, afterwards called Nicapolis. Antony had taken possession of Actium, and having a proper harbour in the gut, commanded the whole navigation of the gulph.

Octavius advancing with his fleet and army from the northward, and having no opposition made to him by the enemy, took possession of Toryné, entrenched himself in a strong post on shore, and stationed his fleet behind him in a creek, which furnished a harbour sufficiently safe ⁴².

Antony already posted on the opposite side of the gulph, either did not think himself in condition to prevent the enemy from making this lodgement in his presence, or determined by some other motive, chose to act on the defensive; and thus the armies were stationed, Octavius in Epirus, and Antony in Acarnania, on the opposite sides of the entrance to the gulph of Ambracia.

The state of forces on each side is variously reported. Plutarch says, that in entering on the war, Antony had five hundred gallies, of which there were many mounting eight and ten tier of oars; that the land-army, which had been transported by his fleet, consisted of a hundred thousand infantry, and twelve thousand horse; that Octavius had two hundred and fifty gallies, eighty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Others place the superiority of numbers on the side of Octavius, but state them as more nearly equal ⁴³.

⁴² Plut. in Antonio.

⁴³ Ibid.

As the Egyptian fleet still commanded the passage of the gulph, Antony, after it was too late to disturb the enemy in making their lodgement, seized a post, with a considerable part of his army, on the side of Toryné, to restrain their excursions, and to cut off their forage. Octavius, on his part, detached Agrippa, with a powerful squadron, to make descents on the coasts, to ravage the towns that were in the possession of Antony, and to cut off the supplies that were brought him by sea.

According to these instructions, Agrippa took possession of Methoné, on the coast of Messenia and of Patræ, near the mouth of the gulph of Corinth, entered that gulph, and made a descent near the city of Corinth, afterwards took possession of the promontory of Leucada, which lay in the course of Antony's convoys⁴⁴, and obliged him, after a check he had received in the neighbourhood of Toryné by the defeat of the cavalry he employed on that side, to abandon his ground in Epirus, and to repass the straits to Actium.

In these operations passed the greater part of summer: but as nothing was decided, Domitius, who, in the preceding year, notwithstanding he was Consul, had left his station in the city to join Antony, now disgusted with his conduct, went over to Octavius. A general distrust ensued in the party⁴⁵, and Antony, being distressed for want of provisions, saw the necessity of making his retreat,

⁴⁴ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 24.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

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or of risking a general action. His fleet having suffered greatly in winter from scarcity and from disease, he deliberated whether he should not abandon his ships, and rest his cause on the event of a battle on shore⁴⁶; but Cleopatra, who governed all his councils, and who dreaded being deprived of a retreat by sea, urged him without delay to set sail for Alexandria. She proposed, that, to check the progress of the enemy, proper detachments should be left to keep possession of all the strongholds in Asia and Greece; that these detachments should be supported from Egypt; and that Antony, in the mean time, should prepare the whole forces of that kingdom to contend for the empire of the world.

The partisans of Cleopatra, in the council of Antony, contending for this plan of retreat which she proposed, among other arguments against risking a battle, urged many fatal presages and designs of impending calamity, sufficient to strike a panic in the troops, and to render the flight they advised, in some measure necessary. It was determined, however, as a kind of middle course, that the fleet should put to sea; if permitted, withdraw from the enemy; but if attacked, give battle. As it was observed, that many of the ships were ill manned, and in disrepair, and some altogether unserviceable; these being selected and burnt, the remainder prepared for the sea.

When this resolution was taken, Antony called

⁴⁶ Plut. in Antonio.

his officers together, put them in mind of the diligence with which he had made his preparations for the present war, and referred for proof to the armament itself, which was then in their view. — In a war, which was to turn on the event of naval operations, they had an undoubted superiority, he said, either in the number, or loftiness and strength of their ships.—He contrasted his own reputation, the maturity of his age, his experience, and his success, with the opposite circumstances in the description of his enemy. — He put his officers in mind, and wished them to remind the army, that they were about to contend for the empire of the world; that great as this object was, the loss of it, if they failed, was to be the least of their sufferings; that every indignity and insult was to be expected from an enemy⁴⁷, who on former occasions had shown himself sufficiently averse to mercy. Having addressed himself in this manner to the officers who were to be left on shore, he ordered on board all those who attended him in the character of Roman citizens, or of whose inclination to the enemy he had any suspicion, and reinforced his fleet from the land army with as many archers and slingers as could ply in the ships.

Octavius, in the mean time, having intelligence of these deliberations and counsels, and seeing the bustle which the embarkation of so many men from the land, and the movements of ships to get into their stations, occasioned, he likewise prepared for

⁴⁷ Dio Cass. lib. l. c. 15 — 22.

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action. In his address to the officers of his fleet, he still affected to consider Cleopatra as the principal party in the war. "Antony had condescended," he said, "to become her dependant and follower, and was now preparing, not to fight, but to accompany the Queen of Egypt in her flight." In respect to the conduct of the action, he was inclined to let the enemy get under sail, and even to wait until they should have turned the promontory of Actium, thinking this would be the proper time for him to attack their rear, to pursue them in their retreat, and by these means to gain the advantage and reputation of a victory, without the hazard of a battle; but being dissuaded from this design by Agrippa, he took his resolution to meet them at the mouth of the straits, and if he prevailed, was in hopes he might put them out of condition to renew the war. For this purpose he reinforced his fleet with as many men from the land as could conveniently act on board⁴⁸.

After both fleets were in readiness, they were detained in their harbours four days by a storm, and a high sea which set into the gulph. But on the fifth day the wind having abated, and the sea becoming smooth, Antony's fleet began to form in the Straits. He himself, with Poplicola, embarked with the first division on the right, Cælius on the left, and an officer, whom Plutarch names Marcus Octavius, with M. Jus-teius in the centre⁴⁹. His

⁴⁸ Dio Cass. lib. l. c. 23 — 30.

⁴⁹ Plutarch, in Antonio.

ships being heavier and loftier, but less active than those of Octavius, he hesitated for some time whether he should not remain in close order, and endeavour to bring on the action in the narrow entrance of the gulph, where his antagonists, for want of room, could not derive any great advantage from the superior agility of their vessels, or quickness of their motions.

While Antony deliberated on this matter, Octavius got under sail, turned the headland of Toryné, and formed in a line before the entry of the Straits, about a mile from the enemy. The right division was commanded by M. Larius, the left by Aruntius, the whole by Agrippa⁵⁰. Both armies, at the same time, were drawn out on the shore to behold the event; but the fleets, for some time, did not make any movement, and it continued uncertain whether Antony, being still in the road, might not return to his anchors; but about noon his ships began to clear the Straits, and came forward where the sea-room was sufficient for their line. As in this movement the fleets came closer together, Agrippa began to extend his front, in order to turn the enemy's flank; but Poplicola, on the other side, to keep pace with him, stretching to the same side, the centre of both fleets was equally opened, and they engaged soon after, without any apparent advantage on either side.

The contest, for some time, remained undecided. In the beginning of the action, the Queen of

⁵⁰ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 84.

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Egypt's yacht had been near to the line, and she herself continued to look on the battle, till, overcome with anxiety, affright, and horror, she gave orders to remove her galley to a greater distance, and being once in motion fled with all the sail she could make; her vessel being distinguished by a gilded poop and purple sails, made her flight be conspicuous to the whole fleet["], and drew away from the line about sixty ships of the Egyptian squadron, who, under pretence of attending their mistress, withdrew from the action.

Antony, apprehending the consequence of this defection, whether in despair of his fortunes, or in some hopes to rally those who fled, put on board of a quick sailing vessel, and endeavoured to overtake them. Being observed from Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but no longer capable of any vigorous or rational purpose, he became the companion of her flight, without any attempt to rally her fleet. Although he quitted the chance of a victory to follow the object of his passions, he could not endure to behold her, turned his eyes aside, threw himself upon the deck, and continued in the deepest anguish of shame and despair.

The flight of Antony, joined to that of Cleopatra, an event so little expected, was not for some time observed, and the fleet notwithstanding the desertion of their leader, continued the action till four in the afternoon, when they were overpowered; and many of them being greatly damaged in

["] Florus, lib. iv. c. 11.

their oars and rigging, were not in condition either to resist or to escape, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Three hundred ships were taken or sunk, and about five thousand men were killed⁵². The strand was covered with wrecks and dead bodies. Octavius detached a squadron in pursuit of such of the enemy's ships as had got to sea from the engagement, and himself continued in the channel during the remainder of the day, and the following night, to gather the fruits of his victory⁵³.

The land-army of Antony having, from the heights on shore, beheld the ruin of their fleet, retired to their camp as with an intention to maintain it to the last extremity. They flattered themselves, that their general, though forced to yield to his enemy at sea, would make for the nearest port, and again show himself at the head of his legions. These, they said, he never should have left to commit his fortunes to an uncertain element, and a treacherous ally. In these hopes they remained for seven days unshaken in their duty, and rejected all the offers which Octavius made to induce them to change their party. Being satisfied, however, at last, that their hopes were vain, they consulted their safety in different ways. Some laid down their arms; Canidius himself, who commanded

⁵² Plut. in Antonio. Orosius says, 12,000 were killed in battle, 6000 were wounded, of whom 1000 died under cure, lib. vi.

⁵³ Sueton in Octavio.

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them, withdrew in the night⁵⁴; others remaining together in small parties, took the route to Macedonia; but, being pursued by the enemy, were separately overtaken, and forced or persuaded to surrender. All the Roman citizens, who had taken refuge in the eastern provinces, all the foreign allies and princes, who made a part of the vanquished army, successively made their peace⁵⁵; and the empire itself now seemed to be reduced under a single head.

Antony having continued his flight by the coasts of the Peloponnesus to the head of Tenarus, without appearing to recover his courage, made a halt at this place, rather from indecision and irresolution, than from any settled purpose respecting the conduct of his affairs. Here he was joined by some ships that remained in the action to the end of it; and being informed by them, that the fleet was entirely demolished, but that the army continued firm in their camp; he seemed to be revived by this last part of the account, and dispatched an order to Canidius to make the best of his way into Macedonia, and from thence to continue his march into Asia. Such of his friends as came up with him at Tenarus, he treated with his usual liberality, divided his plate and jewels among them, and gave them orders for the supplies they might want, on the keeper of his treasury at Corinth. In performing these acts of munificence, he seemed to

⁵⁴ Plut. in Antonio.

⁵⁵ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. i.

recover his mind, and resumed some part of his usual manner, but returning at the same time to his former habits with Cleopatra⁵⁶, he suffered himself again to be governed by her councils; and, in compliance with her desire, steered directly for Egypt, without making any attempt to rally his forces in Greece, or to join his army, which, in reality, by this time, had been separated, or obliged to make their peace.

The victor having entirely dispersed, or gained to his own party all the forces of his rival in Europe, sent such a part of his army into Asia as was thought necessary to finish the remains of the war, and permitted the veterans, whose turn it was to be disbanded, to return into Italy. He himself, in order that he might be at hand to observe the motions of Antony, and to renew his operations in the spring, proposed to pass the winter at Samos⁵⁷. From thence, being master of a country in which his rival had once been favorably received, he exercised his power in punishing those who had taken part against him. Many towns, by his order, were laid under heavy contributions, and deprived of their municipal privileges. All the petty princes who held their territories by grant from Antony, except Archelaus⁵⁸ and Amyntas⁵⁹, were dispossessed. Alexander⁶⁰, the son of Jamblichus, was

⁵⁶ Plut. in Antonio.

⁵⁷ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 3 and 4. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17.

⁵⁸ King of Cappadocia.

⁵⁹ Of Galatia. Dio Cass. lib. xlix. c. 32.

⁶⁰ A prince of Arabian extraction.

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Of the Roman citizens of rank, who had espoused the cause of Antony, some were pardoned, some laid under heavy fines, and others put to death⁶³. Among those who were pardoned, was Sosius the late Consul, who had absconded for some time after the battle of Actium, and remained in concealment, until, by the intercession of his friends, he made his peace. With him likewise is mentioned M. Scaurus, the uterine brother of Sextus Pompeius, who had been condemned to die, but spared at the intercession of his mother. Among those who were put to death is mentioned Curio, the son of that Curio, who, in the steps which led to the civil war, acted for some time in support of the Senate, but afterwards so effectually served the ambition of Julius Cæsar⁶⁴.

While Antony, still possessed the kingdom of Egypt, or had any means of renewing the war,

⁶¹ On the frontier of Pontus.

⁶² The people of certain towns of Crete.

⁶³ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 2.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

it was thought expedient that Octavius in person should reside in Asia. The administration in Italy was committed to Mæcenas and Agrippa; the first intrusted with the civil, the other with the military department; but acting under orders and instructions from Cæsar, which, though in form addressed to the Senate, were previously submitted to these ministers; and, after having received such alterations and corrections as they thought proper, were likewise intrusted to their execution.

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Agrippa, as has been mentioned, having borne his part in the victory at Actium, returned into Italy with a particular charge of the veterans who were now entitled to their dismissal, and to the reward of their services. He was chosen for this trust, as having sufficient authority to repress the mutinous spirit which this order of men had ever discovered as often as they were encouraged by victory to state their pretensions and to over-rate their merits. The task, however, was too arduous even for the daring courage and unblemished reputation of this officer. The troops had been told, after the late action, that on account of the state of Cæsar's finances, the reward of their services must be deferred to the end of the war; such of them as were destined to act in Asia and Egypt acquiesced in this delay, expecting to enrich themselves in the mean time with the spoils of those opulent countries⁶⁵. But those who were sent back into Italy, expecting such settlements in

⁶⁵ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 3, 4.

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that country as the veterans had formerly received, upon their arrival laid claim to immediate satisfaction, and complained that Cæsar in employing his lieutenants to treat with them, meant to evade their just demands.

In consequence of earnest representations from Mæcenas and Agrippa, stating these discontents of the veterans as of the most dangerous tendency, Octavius, after he had determined to fix his residence at Samos for the winter, set sail for Italy in the most tempestuous season, and in his passage was twice exposed to great danger; once in doubling the headlands of the Peloponnesus, and again near to the rocks of Acroceraunus. Being arrived at Brundisium, he was met by many of the principal citizens of Rome, with the Senate and magistrates, who, having committed the government of the city to the Tribunes, were come forward to receive him, and to pay their court. He likewise found the discontented veterans still at the same place, and obstinate in their purpose of not suffering themselves to be disbanded, until they should have obtained their just gratification in money and allotments of land.

Octavius, having occasion for all the arts in which he was already so well versed, now affecting to hasten what he alledged had been only delayed to a more convenient time, proceeded to make way for these mutinous troops, by dislodging many possessors of land, on pretence that they had favored the Queen of Egypt in the late war; and, in order to provide the intended gratuities in

money, he pretended to offer his own estate to sale, or proposed to pledge it as security for a loan. But no man having the courage to become either his creditor or the purchaser of his estate, he represented his having made the offer as a sufficient excuse to the army for the delay which he was still obliged to make in gratifying their just requests. But the riches of Egypt, he said, now forfeited by Cleopatra, would be an ample fund for the gratification of those who forbore their demands for the present, to have them more fully complied with hereafter⁶⁶. Having by these means, pacified the clamors of those who were most urgent; and having been, during his stay at Brundisium, vested a fourth time with the titles and ensigns of Consul, he set sail again for the coast of Asia, with intention to give Antony and Cleopatra as little time as possible to recollect themselves or to reinstate their affairs.

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U. C. 723.
Imp. Cæf. 4to.
M. Licinius
Crassus, ex
Kal. Jul. C.
Antistius Vi-
tus, ex Id.
Sept. M. Tul.
Cicero, ex Kal.
Nov. L. Junius,

These unfortunate adventurers, whose arrival at the point of Tenarus has been mentioned, steered from thence for the coast of Africa, and parted from each other near to Paretonium, a sea-port of Lybia; which had been held by the kings of Egypt, as a barrier at some distance beyond the western frontier of their kingdom. In the neighbourhood of this place, Antony expected to be received by Pinarius Scarpus, whom he had placed at the head of his forces in that quarter⁶⁷. But

⁶⁶ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 4.

⁶⁷ Ibid. lib. li. c. 5. Plut. in Antonio, p. 136. Both these writers seem to understand that Pinarius Scarpus had belonged to Antony, and deserted from him on this occasion.

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this officer, from whatever person he may have received his appointment, or however he may have been inclined, while the Triumvirs divided the empire, was now, by the event of the battle of Actium, sufficiently determined in the choice of his party. He had declared for Octavius, and now ordered the messengers of Antony, and all the officers under his own command, who were disposed to enter into any correspondence with the vanquished party to be put to death.

Upon this disappointment, Antony relapsed into his former melancholy, proposed to kill himself, and was prevented only by the persuasion of a few friends, who earnestly entreated him to try his fortunes once more, at the head of the forces of Egypt⁶².

Cleopatra, in order to outrun the news of her disaster, and to prevent the disorders that might attend the fall of her authority, made all possible haste into her own dominions. When her ships came in sight she hoisted the ensigns of victory, and entered the harbour of Alexandria with shouts of joy and triumph. Upon her landing she gave an order to cut off, or to secure, some persons of whose affections she was doubtful, and then acknowledging the event of her late unfortunate expedition, took measures for the defence of her kingdom. Under pretence of collecting money for this purpose, she seized the effects of corporations and of private persons, and

⁶² Plut. in Antonio, p. 136. 4to. edit. Lond. ann. 1724.
Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 5.

stript the temples of their ornaments and of their treasures. But, having still upon her mind all the impressions of her late defeat, she rather looked for a retreat, to which she might fly with the money she amassed, than for a station at which to withstand her enemy. Under these impressions, she formed a project to have her fleet dragged over land, from the Nile to the gulf of Arabia, and ordered ships to be built in the ports of that sea, trusting that her enemy could not, for some time, be in condition to molest her with any naval armament in that quarter.

After this project began, in part, to be executed, the Arabs, apprehending some danger to themselves, from the preparations which appeared to be making on their coasts, demolished the docks which the Queen of Egypt had ordered to be fitted up, plundered her stores, and destroyed the ships which she had already built; so that she was reduced to the necessity of making her defence on the Nile, and of abiding the fate which threatened her country from this side⁶⁹.

She had heard of Cæsar's having gone back into Italy; and from this circumstance, as well as from the difficulties of a winter-navigation round the coasts of Greece, both she and Antony thought themselves secure for that season. In this, however, they were disappointed by the activity and resolution of their enemy, who, having lost no time unnecessarily at Brundisium, had, in order

⁶⁹ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 7. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 33.

B O O K to avoid the difficulties of the winter-navigation,
V. ordered some gallies to be dragged over land at the Isthmus of Corinth; and by this means, while he was yet believed to be beyond the sea of Ionia, was actually well advanced in his voyage to the Nile⁷⁰. His plan was to invade the kingdom of Egypt on two sides at once; at Paretonium, on the side of Africa, by an army under the command of Cornelius Gallus; and at Pelusium, on the side of Syria, with an army which he himself was to command⁷¹.

Antony upon his return to Alexandria, with the mortification of having been rejected by the Roman legions that were stationed on the frontier of the province of Africa, thinking it might strengthen his own party against that of Octavius, to point out an immediate offspring of the Julian family, and a succession of leaders to the party of Cæsar, declared Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra to be now of age, and qualified to enter upon the inheritance of his father. But while he exasperated Octavius by this species of personal insult, he appeared incapable of any rational plan of defence for himself or the kingdom he occupied. He even absented himself from the councils that were held on this subject, declined any share in the management of affairs, and withdrew from the palace.

⁷⁰ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 5.

⁷¹ Orosius, lib. vi.

While Antony continued in this humor, he was joined by Canidius, the late commander of his land forces at Actium. From this officer he had the melancholy account, that all his armies in Greece were dispersed; that Herod, the king of Judea, had declared against him, and all the princes he had lately placed upon different thrones in Asia had either followed this example, or been displaced; that he had not any possession, nor any certain friend beyond the limits of Egypt. Upon receiving this account, he seemed to recover from his melancholy, and acquired that species of ease which results from despair. He left his retreat, returned to the palace, and, with Cleopatra, gave himself up to dissipation, profusion, and continual riot. They formed parties of pleasure, consisting of such persons as professed their resolution to die rather than to fall into the hands of the enemy⁷². Antony had an officer retained to put a period to his life in the supposed extremity in which this choice was to be made, and Cleopatra had a collection of poisons for the same purpose.

In the midst of this seeming indifference to life, both the queen and her lover, however, submitted at times to make advances to Cæsar, and to sue for mercy. They dispatched their messengers together; but as Cleopatra sent, on her own account, presents of a crown, a sceptre, and a throne of gold, and privately instructed her agent to sound the disposition of Cæsar with respect to herself, this crafty

⁷² Plut. in Antonio.

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politician perceived that she wished to be considered apart from Antony, and encouraged her to hope for a separate treaty. While he made no reply to Antony, and in public insisted that Cleopatra herself should surrender at discretion, he in private, encouraged the queen to hope for better terms, and even to imagine what he supposed her willing to believe, that she might still make some impression on his mind by the charms of her person.

As Octavius had an agent at the court of Egypt to insinuate these hopes, and to cultivate the disposition which the queen had shown to a separate treaty, Antony became jealous of the frequent conferences to which this agent was admitted, and ordered him to be whipped and expelled from the court. Sensible, however, of the enormity of this outrage, he wrote to Octavius soon after to make an apology. "My misfortunes," he said, "have made me peevish, and this fellow had provoked me; but you may take your revenge on the person of my agent, who is with you." In the subsequent part of this letter he put Octavius in mind of their former intimacy, of their near relation, of their parties of pleasure, or rather debaucheries; and observed, that his frolics with Cleopatra did not deserve to be more seriously treated, than affairs of the same kind in which they had passed some idle hours together. He, at the same time, delivered up P. Turvilius, a Roman Senator, who had been supposed accessory to the death of Julius Cæsar, and who had, for some time, been attached to himself; and he concluded his letter with some expressions of

magnanimity, saying, that he was willing to die, provided he could obtain any favorable terms for the Queen of Egypt ⁷³. C H A P.
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Octavius however continued inexorable; and urging his military operations on both frontiers of the kingdom of Egypt, got possession of Pelusium and of Paretonium; of the first, it was said, in consequence of his intrigues with Cleopatra, and by her connivance; of the second, by the entire defection of the troops which Antony had stationed for the defence of the place, and who now became an accession to the army of his rival.

Cleopatra, as if sensible of the suspicions she had incurred on the surrender of Pelusium, and desirous to recover the confidence of Antony, doubled her attention to his person, kept the anniversary of his birth-day with unusual splendor; and, to remove any suspicion of her having connived at the loss of Pelusium, delivered up the officer of the name of Seleucus, who had surrendered that place, that he might atone for his treachery by a suitable punishment.

Antony, observing the progress which his enemy made on the frontiers of the kingdom, and being weary of the project of ending his life in a riot, took a better resolution, and mustering what forces he could, both by sea and by land, was determined to try the fortune of a war, or to die, at least, sword in hand. When the enemy advanced to Alexandria, he attacked their cavalry and put them to

⁷³ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 9.

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Upon this dispersion of all his forces, Antony complained, that he was betrayed, and was heard to accuse the queen. This unhappy author of his misfortunes had taken refuge, during the action, with a few attendants, in the monument which, upon a plan of great magnificence, was then recently built for a royal sepulchre. Thither she had already transported all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects. The access of the place was contrived to be shut from within, in such a manner as not to be opened without great labor ⁷⁶. It was given out, that the queen had retired in order to kill herself at the tomb, in which she was to be buried; and soon after, the report was spread that she was actually dead.

Antony, being now arrived at the end of all his hopes, and of his efforts, made haste to follow the supposed example of the queen, and gave his sword, for this purpose, to Eros, a freed slave, who had

⁷⁴ Orosius, lib. vi. p. 268.

⁷⁵ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 10.

⁷⁶ Plut. in Antonio.

promised to use it when required in the last action of friendship to his master; but Eros, unable to fulfil his promise, instead of killing his master, plunged the sword into his own bosom. Antony then snatching the weapon, wounded himself; but not expiring immediately, he was told, as he lay bleeding, that Cleopatra was yet alive, and safe in the monument. Seeming to revive at these tidings, he gave directions that he should be carried to her presence. Upon his coming, she appeared on the battlements; but under pretence that she feared a surprise, refused to have the gates unbarred, and made it necessary to have him towed over the walls. Although she had wished to disengage herself from this unfortunate man, and had even submitted to betray him, now when she saw him laid at her feet expiring⁷⁷, and covered with his blood, she beat her breast, and tore her hair in the agonies of real suffering, mixed with the affectation of pretended passion.

Antony, having somewhat in his mind which he wished to express, called for wine, recovered strength enough to utter a few words, and expired⁷⁸; thus ending his life in the fifty-third, or, according to others, in the fifty-sixth year of his age⁷⁹; disposed, even in the last scenes of it, to occupy the intervals of relaxation in riot and debauchery; and verifying, in all the steps of his manhood and age,

⁷⁷ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 10.

⁷⁸ Zonar. lib. x. c. 30.

⁷⁹ Plut. in Antonio.

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the charge of extravagance and profligacy, which marked his youth, and his first appearances in public affairs. He was possessed of talents for the council and the field, which he never exerted for any valuable purpose, or rather never exerted at all, except when he was pressed by the most urgent necessity of his situation. Under this pressure, indeed, he sometimes repaired by his industry and vigor the breaches which were made by his dissipation or neglect. In consequence of his connexion with Julius Cæsar, and of the place he gained among the military factions, which endeavoured to engross or to divide his power, he was tempted to consider the Roman empire itself as the scene of his pleasures; and, in aiming at the sovereignty of the world, experienced those reverses which fully displayed the versatility and instability of his own character. But he fell, at last, deserted by every Roman citizen who had ever been attached to his interest; betrayed by that person to whose caprices chiefly he sacrificed his fortunes, and under the fatal experience, that the utmost efforts of resolution, incited by the sense of extreme necessity, will not always retrieve the errors of past dissipation and folly.

When Antony gave himself the wound of which he died, one of his attendants, extracting the dagger from his body, ran with it to Octavius, who, seeing the weapon stained with blood, and being told what had passed, perhaps in imitation of Julius Cæsar, who is said to have wept for the death of Pompey, was observed to shed tears⁸⁰. Suetonius

⁸⁰ Plut. in Antonio.

reports that he afterwards desired to see the body¹. CHAP.
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Cleopatra, as soon as the scene in the monument was over, and she had recollected herself, sent an intimation of Antony's death to Cæsar, and then probably indulged her hopes, that the great obstacle to her peace being removed, she might obtain that consideration for her separate interests, which Octavius, by insinuations, or expressions of civility, had given her cause to expect.

After the late contest was, in a great measure, decided, the victor continued to encourage the Queen of Egypt to hope for a separate treaty; and amused her with civilities, while he endeavoured to inform himself of her treasure, and to make sure of her as a captive to adorn his triumph, a circumstance esteemed of the highest importance at Rome; but he had avoided coming under any engagements that should preclude him from the full use of his victory. Upon receiving her message, he sent Caius Proculeius, a Roman Knight, and Epaphroditus, an emancipated slave, to sooth her fears, to administer comfort, and, if possible, without stipulating any conditions, to secure her person.

What Octavius chiefly apprehended from the unfortunate queen, was some violent attempt on her own life. His emissaries, therefore, having suffered her, at her own earnest request, to remain where she was until the funeral of Antony should be over; they made a strict search, in order to remove from

¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 17.

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her hands every weapon, or supposed instrument of death; and, under pretence of doing her honor, placed a guard on the monument. They prevailed upon her afterwards to remove to the palace, where she was attended with the usual state and dignity of a sovereign⁸². But being still kept at a distance from Cæsar, and in suspense with respect to his intentions, she expressed great anxiety, and seemed to meditate some desperate purpose. In order to divert her from any fatal resolution, which might deprive Cæsar's triumph of a principal ornament, she was told, that he consented to see her, and was to make her a visit in her own apartments. Upon this intimation, she ordered the chambers to be fitted up in the most elegant manner, and decorated, in particular, with the picture and bust of Julius Cæsar. When the expected visit of Octavius was to be paid, she took care to have bundles of the late Cæsar's letters and memorials before her. She herself was dressed in mourning, which she knew was supposed, at all times, to become her, and which, on this occasion, might give an expression of tender melancholy that rendered her person and her state more affecting. When Octavius presented himself she rose from her couch; but, as if overawed by his presence, with an air of modesty and dejection, fixed her eyes on the ground. In accosting him, she called him Master. "To his father," she said, "she owed all her fortunes, and now willingly resigned them to the son. The memory of the great Julius should be a sufficient

⁸² Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 12.

“ comfort in all her afflictions; she would even
 “ consider him as revived in the person of his son.
 “ But would to God,” she said, bursting into tears,
 “ that I had died before him, so should I have es-
 “ caped the evils which his death, and the conse-
 “ quences of it have brought upon me!” Octa-
 vius bid her be of good courage; and assured her,
 that no hurt was intended her. But she observing,
 that he spoke these words with coldness, and turned
 his eyes away, threw herself upon the ground in
 agonies of despair. “ I neither wish,” she said,
 “ nor can I continue to live. I should have died
 “ when Cæsar fell; and there is another now who
 “ calls upon me to follow him; suffer me to rest
 “ with him on whose account I die ⁸³.”

This interview concluded with a request on the
 part of the queen, that she might be allowed to
 perform the obsequies of Antony, to which she
 proceeded with all the appearances of an affection-
 ate widow in the deepest affliction; but as there is
 no doubt, that she had betrayed the person whom
 she now appeared so much to lament, it is probable
 that her tears, though pretended to be shed on ac-
 count of the dead, were, in reality, directed to move
 and to win his surviving rival. She still trusted to the
 effects of her beauty, and was, in her present situ-
 ation, what she had been in the most serious councils
 of State, a mere coquette, who, being naturally
 disposed to violent passions, could personate any
 character, or turn her real passions to account in
 serving any disguised purpose of vanity or ambition.

⁸³ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 12.

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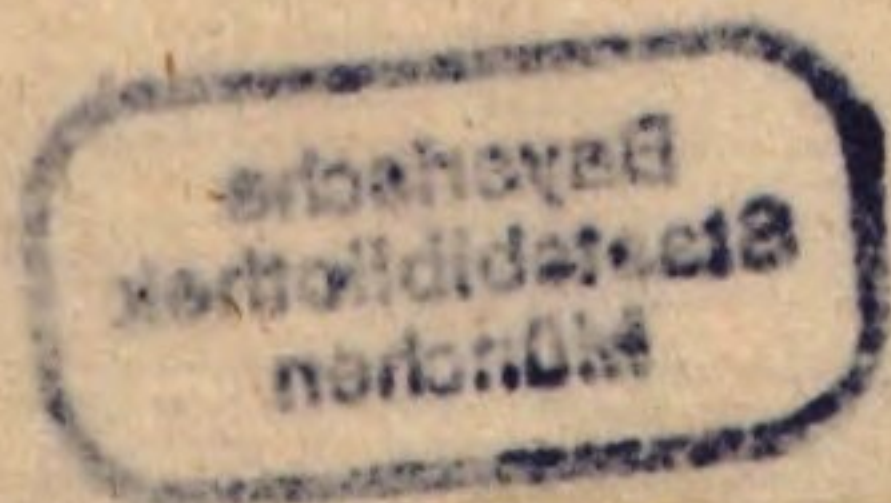
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The scene which Cleopatra acted on the present occasion, in whatever degree she was possessed by real or affected despair, had no other effect on Octavius, than to make him redouble his attention to prevent any attempt which she might intend to make against her own life. Epaphroditus had orders to watch her with great diligence; a circumstance from which she had the sagacity to infer a fixed determination to carry her as a captive to Rome. She was soon confirmed in her suspicions; having intelligence, that Octavius himself, being to march by land, had given orders that she, with her children, should be sent into Italy by sea. Equally anxious to avoid being led in triumph, as the victor was desirous to preserve her for this purpose, she instantly took measures to end her life. But in order to elude the vigilance of her keeper, she affected to be resigned to her fate, gave an inventory, and delivered up all her effects, reserving only a few jewels, which she professed an intention to deliver with her own hands, in presents, to Livia and Octavia. She even affected to dress in her usual gay and sumptuous manner; and pretended to have some business of consequence to communicate to Cæsar, she gave Epaphroditus a letter, and charged him to deliver it with his own hands. It contained expressions of exultation at having obtained her end, and having escaped from her enemies.

Octavius, on seeing this letter, instantly gave orders to prevent what he apprehended was her purpose; but the queen, at the arrival of the messenger, was already dead, and laid upon a couch of state. One of the women, who usually attended

her, was likewise dead; the other was expiring; but while the messenger of Octavius was entering the chamber, observing that the crown had fallen from her mistress's head, she made an effort, with what strength she had left, to replace it. No mark of violence appeared on the body of the queen, except a small puncture in her arm; and she was therefore supposed to have died of a venomous bite, or of a scratch with a poisoned instrument. To render the last of these conjectures the more probable, it was said, that she always carried a pin in her hair, the point of which was tainted with poison. She was now at the age of nine-and-thirty years, and of these had lived fourteen years with Antony.

Octavius, being disappointed of his design to lead the Queen of Egypt as a captive in his triumph, had her effigy, with an asp fixed upon the arm, fabricated to supply her place in the procession. He no longer kept any measures with her family or kingdom, Cæsarion her son, supposed by Julius Cæsar, and of course a pretended heir to Cæsar's fortunes, had too high pretensions to be spared; endeavouring to make his escape into Ethiopia, he was taken in his flight, and killed. Antyllas, the son of Antony by Fulvia, being of an age to receive impressions which might render him dangerous, was likewise sacrificed to the safety of the conqueror. He had taken refuge at the shrine of Julius Cæsar, but was forced from thence, and slain. The other children, whether of Cleopatra, or of Antony, were spared, and honorably treated. Those of the latter, by Octavia, being near relations of Cæsar, and afterwards intermarried with the



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reigning family, left a posterity who succeeded to the empire²⁴.

Among the partisans of the vanquished party who were ordered for execution, only two or three Romans of note are mentioned: Canidius, who had commanded the land-forces of Antony at Actium, and who still adhered to him in the wreck of his fortunes; Cassius Parmensis, a man of letters and a poet, who had been attached to Brutus and Cassius, but, having employed his wit against Octavius, was received by Antony, and lived with him in great intimacy; and Ovinus, who, having been a Roman Senator, is said to have degraded himself by taking charge of the manufactures which were carried on in the palace of the Queen of Egypt.

In limiting the severity of his executions to these examples, Octavius appeared greatly to restrain the cruelty which he had formerly exercised against his enemies; he, at the same time, gave proofs of his munificence, by releasing all those who were in custody at Alexandria whether as prisoners of state, as captives, or hostages from foreign nations²⁵.

²⁴ Sueton. in Octav. c. 17. Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 19. Plut. in Antonio.

²⁵ Orosius, p. 269. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 87.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



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